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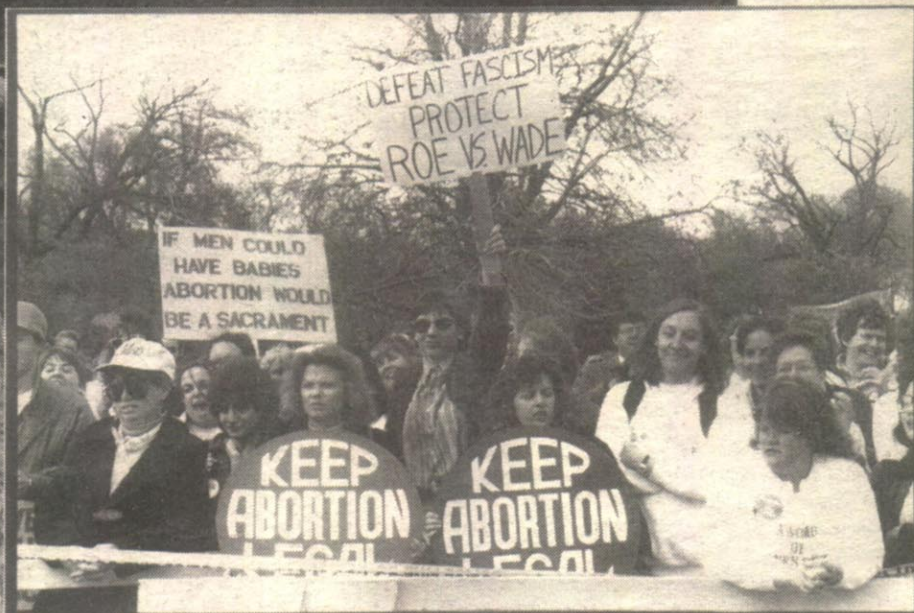
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Eastern:
A deal
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CHOOSING CHOICE

Reproductive rights movement
rallies around *Roe vs. Wade*.



Maggie Garb and
Joan McGrath
report, page 3.

Photographs by Marc PoKempner



Eric Omer

An in-depth look at a 'visionless' Bush

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Three months into his presidency, George Bush is being criticized by both conservatives and liberals for not having an "agenda" or "strategy." The common image here is of a man so in love with the idea of being president that he hasn't bothered to ask himself what he wants to do with the job. But this perception of Bush, based upon a strict comparison with his predecessor, Ronald Reagan, is highly misleading.

Reagan's administration represented a political insurgency—at odds with elite opinion within the Republican and Democratic parties. Reagan was the most self-consciously ideological president since Woodrow Wilson. Bush represents a return to a calmer, more invisible form of Republican politics—characteristic of Dwight Eisenhower's and Gerald Ford's administrations. Most of Bush's top officials—including Secretary of State James Baker, Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney, National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft and Budget Director Richard Darman—are veterans of the Ford administration.

Bush has a strategy, but its success depends upon it not being publicly articulated. The president wants to break with important parts of Reagan's foreign and domestic agenda, but he also wants to retain the support of hard-line Reagan conservatives within his political coalition. Thus, when presenting his objectives, he has had to equivocate and even contradict himself. This has been most evident in his foreign policy.

Beating around the Bush: Bush has largely abandoned the Reagan doctrine of trying to overthrow pro-communist regimes, but he has not replaced it with a "Bush doctrine." Instead, he has proceeded cautiously and sometimes at cross-purposes. He has led conservatives, along with the general public, to believe that he was acceding to congressional pressure. But he was actually doing what he wanted to do all along.

During the 1988 campaign, Bush declared that funding the Nicaraguan contras' military struggle was a "high priority." But on March 24 he signed an agreement with Congress that ruled out contra military aid, allocated humanitarian aid for "regional relocation" and gave Congress the right to review the agreement after six months. Conservatives charged that Bush and Baker had buckled under Democratic pressure, but the two men appear to have been using Congress as a pretext for abandoning the contras. In the negotiations, the administration agreed readily to Democratic demands, while fending off complaints from conservative Republicans like Sen. John McCain (R-AZ).

The new president also appears to be scrapping another key element of Reagan's foreign policy—the plan for a Star Wars program that, in theory, would shield the U.S. from incoming missiles. Cheney, the new secretary of defense, acknowledged in a recent TV interview that the Reagan administration "oversold" the program. A missile umbrella, Cheney said on NBC's *Today*, is "an extremely remote proposition." But just as the contras will not survive without the ideological underpinning of the Reagan doctrine, Star Wars will not survive without the promise of universal deterrence. Bush and Cheney are preparing the ground for using Star Wars as an arms-control bargaining chip rather than as a space shield. But Bush cannot say so without infuriating conservatives and destroying the program's value in negotiations.

The White House has slowed the pace of Soviet-American negotiations from the last year of the Reagan administration, when conservatives accused Reagan and then-Secretary of State George Shultz of being stricken with "Gorby-mania." Although Bush and Baker have removed economic sanctions against Moscow that Jimmy Carter invoked after the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, they have not taken a more important step. That step—favored by many business leaders—would be to remove the trade restrictions established by the 1974 Jackson-Vanik amendment. Jackson-Vanik tied the removal of prohibitive tariffs on Soviet goods to increased emigration for Jews and other nationalities (see box on page 11).

Bush and Baker have also postponed advancing a new position on strategic arms talks until next month. They are wavering on whether to continue Reagan's offer to include in the American negotiating position a ban of mobile missiles. The Bush administration's caution in this area reflects its determination to pursue its policy agenda without jeopardizing its political majority. Conservatives in Washington have been organized since Reagan's Intermediate Nuclear Forces pact to block any new strategic agreements with the Soviet Union. Reagan, unlike Bush, could rely on indelible conservative links and personal popularity to overcome fanatic right-wing opposition to any Soviet-American agreements. But Bush could face a major revolt in his party unless he is careful.

Kinder, gentler, leaner, meaner: The new president has also had to juggle priorities in articulating his domestic agenda. On domestic issues Bush has not suffered from having to equivocate, but from having to pursue programs that divide the people he wants to unite in his coalition.

He wants to retain the backing of middle-class moderates and independents who are worried about the environment, education and good government. These voters don't necessarily approve of affirmative action, but they don't want policies that seem unfair to minorities and women. Bush has encouraged both Environmental Protection Agency Director William K. Reilly and Secretary of

Education Lauro Cavazos to depart from Reagan-era precedents. Reilly has already angered conservatives by scuttling a dam being built on Nebraska's South Platte River. The dam, intended to provide water for Denver, would have endangered wildlife. Reilly is also moving ahead on breaking an eight-year impasse on renewing the Clean Air Act.

Cavazos also infuriated Washington right-wingers by firing Assistant Secretary Patricia Hines, a prime supporter of church-run and other private schools. The showdown with Hines came in January when Cavazos threw out a speech she had written for him advocating vouchers and tuition tax credits for private education. According to *Human Events*, when Hines complained to William Phillips, Cavazos' chief of staff, that the secretary was abandoning the "conservative agenda," Phillips told her that Cavazos "didn't care [obscenity deleted] about the conservative agenda."

In a further break from the Reagan approach, Bush and Attorney General Richard Thornburgh have met several times with Jesse Jackson and other black leaders. Bush appointed moderate Arthur Fletcher to replace Reaganite William Allen as chairman of the Civil Rights Commission.

But at the same time, Bush has courted the GOP's right wing. To appease business conservatives—an important Republican constituency—Bush vowed to veto a minimum-wage bill that would produce the first increase in nine years, from \$3.35 to \$4.55 an hour. Bush is holding out for \$4.25 and for \$3.35 an hour for six months for newly hired workers—a proposal sure to create a rapid turnover in the lowest-paying jobs.

To appease social conservatives, Thornburgh filed a brief urging the Supreme Court to overturn *Roe vs. Wade* when the justices review an abortion case later this month. In other sops to social conservatives, the Justice Department filed suit against a Maryland school district's integration plan, and Thornburgh nominated Kenneth Starr, a foe of

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affirmative action, to be his solicitor general.

Bush's contradictory strategy was apparent in the administration's reaction to the April 9 abortion rights march. While Vice President Dan Quayle said the march was "nothing unusual in this town," Bush spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said it was "very successful."

The politics of policy: There is a difference, however, between a successful politician and a successful president. Bush's short-term political success will be measured by whether he can keep all his disparate constituents—from blue-collar right-to-lifers to Sierra Club members—behind him. So far he has been relatively successful. He remains quite popular outside Washington. His approval rating of 71 percent at the beginning of April was nine points higher than Reagan's rating in April 1981. And in spite of the contra agreement, he has retained the loyalty of congressional conservatives.

But the new president, like his predecessor, will also be measured by his ability to stem America's industrial decline and social decay and to wind down the Cold War. Bush has made several steps in the right direction, including the contra aid agreement and the Brady plan for reducing Third-World debt, which calls on American banks to reduce dramatically the interest rates that countries like Mexico and Brazil are paying on their loans.

He has also made missteps. His delay of arms negotiations and trade concessions with the Soviet Union is politically tactful, but continues the drain of resources into military production and gives both Western Europe and Japan a foothold in the huge Soviet market. His cosmetic proposals for reforming education and stemming the drug trade momentarily deflect concern from these issues without making a real contribution to improving our schools or cities.

So far Bush has displayed political savvy, but he has not shown that he is capable of political leadership. □

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By Maggie Garb & Joan McGrath

WASHINGTON, D.C.

AS THE DUST STIRRED UP BY HUNDREDS OF thousands of marchers settled on Washington's streets last week, pro-choice advocates began leading their forces into the offices of federal and state legislators and demanding protection of abortion rights. The March for Women's Equality/Women's Lives in Washington, D.C., the largest women's rights march in history, has reignited pro-choice organizing throughout the country.

Sparked by the Supreme Court's decision to review a Missouri law regulating abortion, the march marks the emergence of a newly fortified women's movement. On April 26 the court is scheduled to hear oral arguments in the Missouri case *Webster vs. Reproductive Health Services* (see *In These Times*, Dec. 21, 1988; also see story page 4). The case provides the justices with the opportunity to review the landmark 1973 *Roe vs. Wade* decision that legalized abortion.

While most pro-choice advocates believe the court will uphold the framework of the *Roe* decision, they also predict that the upcoming ruling will give states the freedom to pass laws severely restricting abortion's availability. But, in the wake of the march, which attracted more than 300,000 people, women's rights leaders say that the long-silent pro-choice voters have been mobilized and are prepared to battle the vocal anti-abortion forces.

"We aren't going back," Kate Michelman, executive director of National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL), told *In These Times*. "If the court tampers with *Roe vs. Wade*, there will be political and social chaos across the country."

Let's get together: Protecting abortion rights is a monumental task. But march organizers predict that the overwhelming enthusiasm generated by the demonstration will be channeled into pro-choice political activity for years to come. "Women's groups have finally come together around this issue," says Eve Paul, vice president for legal affairs for the Planned Parenthood Federation of America. "I think people realize that if they don't have reproductive rights, then the other rights won't mean much."

Along with continued lobbying efforts on Capitol Hill, pro-choice forces are beginning to focus on state legislatures, where most pro-choice leaders predict the issue will be decided. Lobbying groups are already in place in 35 state capitals, and pro-choice groups hope to strengthen that network. Irene Natividad, chair of the National Women's Political Caucus, says caucus members plan to target anti-abortion legislators in future elections. The group will test its electoral strategy in New Jersey state elections this fall. If that strategy is successful, it will be implemented throughout the country, according to Natividad.

The caucus' electoral goal is to win control of as many state legislatures as possible by 1990, when a new census will require state officials to redistrict voter precincts. "We're hoping that the redistricting will help us to gain seats for women who are pro-choice. Overall, it should create more options for women to enter the political process," she says.

In addition to the electoral goals, abortion providers—including doctors, nurses, physicians' assistants and other health care



Norma McCorvey (third from left), the "Jane Roe" of the historic case, at the march.

The choice is all ours, marchers tell the court

workers—are forming local health care organizations to reduce the effects of anti-abortion protests, says Alice Kirkman, spokeswoman for the National Abortion Federation, a Washington, D.C.-based coalition of abortion providers. Those organizations hope to insure that abortion services remain available and to help patients avoid anti-choice demonstrators by sending them to neighboring clinics that are not under attack.

Kirkman adds that some providers are preparing for the worst, a complete reversal of *Roe*. Ten states—Idaho, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, Pennsylvania and South Dakota—have already indicated their intent to criminalize abortion, although observers say that those legislatures would face stiff opposition. But if a state successfully criminalizes abortion, abortion providers plan to form transportation networks to help women who need abortions travel to states where the procedure is legal. Some also would be prepared to perform illegal abortions.

"If *Roe* is reversed, the overall impact will be that abortion will be highly inaccessible in most states," Kirkman predicts. Even in states where abortion is likely to remain legal, Kirkman adds, an influx of women from other states will overload already strained abortion services. "For women who can get abortions, it will be a more difficult and humiliating experience."

Faced with this threat, thousands of men and women have recently joined pro-choice organizations around the country. The National Organization for Women (NOW) and Planned Parenthood both report a dramatic increase in contributions and membership this year.

Nancy Broff, NARAL's political and legal director, says the Washington, D.C.-based pro-choice advocacy group has attracted 10,000 new members each month since January, when the Supreme Court announced it would hear the *Webster* case. "That's more new members each month than we got in all of last year," she says. "For too long we assumed the courts would protect our interests. Now people know that's not true."

The reawakening: The April 9 march was a resounding acknowledgment that people who would normally shy away from political activity are willing to join the abortion battle. While simultaneous demonstrations occurred in Europe and Canada, hundreds of thousands of people streamed into Washington, with a NOW spokeswoman reporting 2,500 buses arriving the morning of the march. Marchers jammed the Metro, which opened two hours early in a futile attempt to accommodate the crowds.

Hours before the march people began congregating around the Washington Monument. Five thousand took part in an interfaith service. To the accompaniment of music and speeches, thousands of marchers, who were being loosely organized state by state, tried to link up with friends and family.

For nearly four hours exuberant demonstrators paraded toward the Capitol, filling the street, at times overflowing onto the sidewalks. Thousands carried signs asking, "Who Decides—You or Them?" while others carried coat hangers as grim reminders of what used to be. They were mothers and daughters, nuclear families, pregnant women, college students, homemakers, lesbians and gay men, professionals and members of religious coalitions and unions. However, march organizers

voiced disappointment at the low turnout of minority and low-income marchers. The crowd was largely white and middle class.

As marchers passed in front of the Capitol, anti-abortion groups tended a mock "cemetery" they had set up the previous week featuring 4,400 white crosses to represent the number of abortions performed each day in the U.S. As they passed the "cemetery," many marchers placed hangers on the fence surrounding the crosses. The huge pro-choice turnout, which surpassed even the most optimistic estimates and was one of the largest marches of any kind in U.S. history, dwarfed January's anti-choice crowd of 67,000.

"It is time for Congress to understand we are the majority," NOW President Molly Yard told the crowd gathered on the Capitol lawn. She vowed to raise "a political army" to insure that abortion rights are protected. Other speakers reminded the crowd of the thousands of women who were mutilated or died as a result of illegal abortions before 1973. In those days women forced to seek back-alley abortions died at the rate of 100 per 1,000 abortions, whereas the number of medically supervised abortion fatalities during that same period was negligible. Throughout the day, participants shared personal accounts of friends or relatives who died following botched abortions.

The rally boasted an array of celebrities, including Rev. Jesse Jackson, former Rep. Bella Abzug, Planned Parenthood President Faye Wattleton, many members of the Hollywood Women's Political Committee and several Congress members.

During her speech Gloria Steinem reminded the crowd of an old feminist saying: there are two ways for a woman to get to Washington—marry in or march in. Currently, she added, a few women are elected and a couple are appointed. "If Barbara Bush—who supported Planned Parenthood in the past—is an example of marrying in, I'm glad we all marched in," she concluded, raising the cry, "Free Barbara Bush!"

Iowa's Lt. Gov. Jo Ann Zimmerman, who is also a nurse, told *In These Times* she traveled to the march because "one of the first young people I ever took care of was a 23-year-old woman who had given herself an abortion, became septic and died." She said she feared that the *Webster* case will be the first in a series to allow the courts to chip away at abortion rights. "That's why we need to dig our heels in now. That's why we have to be ready to go in the states."

The day after the march 1,500 pro-choice advocates descended on Capitol Hill for a full day of lobbying efforts, focusing on the constant threat of anti-abortion amendments to women's rights legislation and pushing for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. The groups also distributed to Congressmembers a recently released video called *Abortion: For Survival*. Produced by The Fund for the Feminist Majority, the video is billed as a response to the highly publicized anti-choice film, *Silent Screams*.

Despite the Supreme Court's avowed apolitical stance, pro-choice advocates say the march showed the nine justices that public attitudes favoring legal abortion have not changed in the last 16 years. And for young marchers, many of whom have always enjoyed the protection of the *Roe* decision, it was a political awakening. They now realize that maintaining rights won by the previous generation requires constant vigilance. □

By Joel Bleifuss

Oil dogs learn new tricks

It appears that a hastily regrouped oil industry is using the issue of rising gasoline prices to shift the public focus from Alaska's sinking seals to America's shrinking wallets. Industry officials, with the help of the media, have drawn attention to the tenuous link between the temporary disruption in the flow of Alaskan oil and the sudden and severe hike in the price of gasoline. Domestic crude oil prices did rise after the March 24 disaster. But it took only four days and the resumption of limited tanker traffic in Prince William Sound to return crude prices to their pre-disaster levels. Gas was set to rise anyway. The price of crude oil has gone up by 50 percent since January 1, in large part as a result of OPEC's successful attempt to reduce oil production. But in molding public policy, it is perception, not substance, that counts. The wreck of the tanker *Exxon Valdez* provided ammunition to environmentalists who oppose further oil exploration. But that appears to have been effectively countered by the oil industry's phony gas crisis, which is giving nervous consumers the impression that petroleum-dependent America must have unrestricted access to a dependable supply of oil—of course with proper and, as the oil industry never fails to point out, expensive environmental controls.

Explore the Arctic: Which brings up the subject of those oil reserves waiting to be tapped in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR). In the weeks since the spill, the *Wall Street Journal* has dutifully reported the oil industry's line on exploiting the arctic wilderness: "The ANWR is especially crucial, because production at Prudhoe Bay, the largest U.S. oil field, opened a dozen years ago, has peaked"; "The ANWR is the oil industry's most fervent hope for a big find"; "[Its] 3 billion barrels would allow companies to pump 1 million barrels of oil a day for the next 30 years." As Charles Maxwell, an oil strategist for W. Lawrence & Co., told the paper, "If there is a *real* [emphasis added] tightness in supply, gasoline prices will skyrocket and [someone will] yell to the politicians, 'Damn it, open up the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.'"

Quick fix: Such statements lead one to conclude that ANWR reserves will provide the fix needed to sustain the U.S. oil addiction into some comfortably indefinite future. But Energy Department estimates indicate that the refuge contains barely enough reserves to supply the nation's oil needs for 200 days. Amory Lovins of the Rocky Mountain Institute, a group that supports conservation and the development of alternative energy sources, wonders if this supply of oil is worth the resulting environmental destruction. "What is one to infer from the collision between supposedly growing demands and declining domestic oil output?" asks Lovins. "That the bottom of the barrel must be scraped, in the refuge and everywhere else, because there is, as the Interior Department leads one to suppose, simply no alternative? Or that we should instead thoughtfully consider whether postponing the ultimate depletion of the nation's oil resources for 200 days is worth the refuge, given that depletion of the finite resource is inevitable and that whatever alternatives will be used to replace that oil will need to be adopted anyway." Somehow the oil industry has turned one environmental disaster into an argument for another.

Iran-contra's rotten apples

A document released in the trial of Oliver North indicates that George Bush played an active role in arranging alternative funding for the contras at a time when such activity was illegal. The document in question is a 42-page summary of secret papers that the Bush administration, under the pretext of national security, has refused to release in the North trial. According to the document, at a Feb. 7, 1985, White House meeting it was decided that President Reagan would send Honduran President Roberto Suazo a letter that would offer "several enticements to Honduras in exchange for its continued support of the Nicaraguan resistance. These enticements included expedited delivery of military supplies ordered by Honduras, a phased release of withheld economic assistance funds and other support." The document indicates that later in February Reagan sent such a letter to Suazo via U.S. Ambassador John Negroponte, the man who is now Bush's ambassador to Mexico. The White House also decided that this letter would be followed up by a visit to Honduras by a government "emissary" who would personally brief Suazo "on the



Graffiti attacking Tribal Chairman Peter MacDonald decorates a feed store on the Navajo Nation.

Deposing the chairman of the Navajo nation

WINDOW ROCK, AZ—"Mutton yes, golf balls no!" shouted 350 angry Navajos as they marched on Tribal Chairman Peter MacDonald's office here last month demanding his removal as leader of the 200,000-member Navajo Nation. The protesters were met outside the tribe's sandstone administrative building by 80 MacDonald supporters. The two sides waged a bullhorn war in Navajo and English across a line of Navajo police.

This confrontation, one of the largest in memory for the nation, stems from investigations by the U.S. Justice Department, the U.S. Inspector General, the U.S. Attorney's Office and the Federal Bureau of Investigation that have linked MacDonald to corruption, fraud and fiscal favoritism. In response to the unfolding scandal, the Navajo Tribal Council voted on February 17 to place MacDonald on administrative leave, an action MacDonald claims is invalid. The vote initiated a legislative power struggle between MacDonald and the council that has paralyzed the government, plunging the country's largest Indian tribe into a political crisis unprecedented in the Navajo Nation's 120-year modern history.

From February 17 to March 31, when Interim Chairman Leonard Haskie gained authorization to sign Navajo government checks, the Navajo Nation was unable to conduct business or pay its employees. The anti-MacDonald demonstration was planned as a rally in support of low-level tribal employees,

the group hardest hit by the fiscal crisis.

The tribal schism is also marked by differences over Navajo economic development, an issue concisely expressed by the marchers' slogan, "Mutton yes, golf balls no." Traditional Navajo sheepherders, dry-land farmers and the unemployed live on the harsh desert land, where mutton is a common food. They are disaffected by MacDonald's high-profile economic development. MacDonald's supporters claim the seven new trading posts and recent land acquisitions developed under his administration have benefited tribal sovereignty.

But it was the largest and most recent land deal that brought federal investigators to MacDonald's door. In 1987 the tribe bought the 491,000-acre Big Boquillas ranch. This purchase of what was Arizona's largest ranch turned a quick (five minute) \$7.5-million profit for Tom Tracy, the middleman who arranged the deal. Some claim that MacDonald was given kickbacks from the deal. MacDonald's son, Peter "Rocky" MacDonald, told the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs in February that after the transaction MacDonald was given up to \$125,000 in cash and a new BMW. Rocky told the committee that cash payments to his father were referred to as "golf balls" during the secret dealings between MacDonald and Tracy, a Phoenix oilman.

MacDonald, elected by a slim majority to a fourth term as chairman in 1986, claims the federal accusations and the Tribal Council's actions are opportunist attempts to remove from power a strong advo-

cate of tribal sovereignty. During the demonstration, members of the pro-MacDonald forces said the Council was making a mockery of the legislative rules passed down from the tribal elders.

But the opposition protesters pointed to MacDonald's alleged abuses of power. The demonstrators said they were defending the Navajo people from a "dictator." One sign read, "Go home, Marcos."

The council majority, nicknamed "49ers" for the 49 members of the 88-member council that voted against MacDonald, has gradually acquired more authority, despite MacDonald's attempts to replace tribal judges and attorneys with his own sympathizers. But the ouster of MacDonald is hampered by the lack of a constitution-like document. Consequently, the governmental crisis has opened up an unknown area of tribal legislation, filling local newspapers with complicated legal proceedings.

Joe Shirley Jr., a council member from Chinle, said the council is confident the federal courts will decide against MacDonald, a man who has "done a lot of damage to the Navajo Nation." On April 7 MacDonald was evicted from the offices he had spent \$700,000 refurbishing. The first court decision, from a grand jury in Phoenix looking into the Big Boquillas deal, is expected on May 1.

The Navajo people are confused, angry and ashamed. "This is Navajo against Navajo," an elder woman sitting away from the demonstration said. "We should be working together on problems of alcoholism and poverty, not waging war on ourselves like this."

—Peter F. Sisler

St. Louis clinic mobilizes for choice

When the Missouri legislature approved a fetal rights amendment in 1986, the staff members at Reproductive Health Services (RHS) knew their organization would be

on the front lines of the long-running abortion rights battle. This month the non-profit St. Louis abortion clinic, which successfully challenged the law in the Missouri courts, is headed for a Supreme Court showdown.

But RHS has waged its pro-choice battle outside of the courts as well. Through a unique public

relations campaign, the RHS staff has helped mobilize local and national support for its case, *Webster vs. Reproductive Health Services*, and for the pro-choice movement in general.

The stakes are high. Because the Missouri legislation is all-encompassing—it declares that life starts at conception—the case provides

the Supreme Court justices with a chance to fully review the landmark 1973 *Roe vs. Wade* decision, which legalized abortion.

Anti-abortion forces are banking on Ronald Reagan's three Supreme Court appointees to provide the votes that will overturn *Roe*. Faced with this threat, RHS searched for new tactics to bolster its cause.

"We knew from the start that our case was going all the way to the Supreme Court," B.J. Isaacson-Jones, RHS' executive director, told *In These Times*. "Slowly we began to develop strategies to mobilize our supporters. We saw this as a golden opportunity and began to raise money for dramatically expanded community education programs. We believe that at this point in time it's incredibly important to get women to speak out."

Along with encouraging patients to send pro-choice messages to the president and Congress, RHS has begun to curry media attention. Each patient is given a yellow card, asking if she would be willing to speak about her abortion experience to the news media. According to Isaacson-Jones, thousands of

women have agreed to be interviewed. "Since we began doing this ... everyone on our staff has really seen the value of opening up the agency. For too long the anti-abortionists have been a highly visible and vocal minority. We are just now able to offer our side of the story."

In addition, the clinic appealed for support in an advertisement, "An open letter to 21 million women," that was published in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, the *Washington Post* and the *Boston Globe*. Written by Isaacson-Jones, the letter has raised nearly \$100,000 for RHS public education programs.

RHS, one of three abortion providers in St. Louis, serves an eight-state area. According to Isaacson-Jones, the agency counsels about 15,000 women and families each year and last year performed about 8,480 abortions.

Long a target of anti-abortion protesters, RHS has trained escorts to lead women through demonstrations. In 1986 the agency's suburban West County clinic was fire-bombed. No arrests were made in that case.

"Until very recently people did

not take the cries of pro-choice people seriously. The public thought we were crying wolf," says Isaacson-Jones. "Now I feel like the sleeping giant has awakened."

Carol Downer, executive director of the California-based Federation of Feminist Women's Health Centers, says the *Webster* case has revived the pro-choice movement around the country. But she fears the movement may be too late. Downer argues that until the mid-'80s abortion rights were a low priority among women's groups and left politicians. In addition, many abortion providers, assuming abortion rights were safe, rejected political action.

Downer applauds the RHS public outreach program, adding that abortion providers are now forced to develop public relations skills. "We always knew the wolf was at our door, but it has been very difficult to arouse public support. This case, and the sense that now we are really threatened, has mobilized the forces," she says. "There is a tremendous outpouring of energy right now. We must hold onto that." —Maggie Garb

The last temptation of Pinochet

SANTIAGO, CHILE—As autumn arrives here, with its enveloping cloud of pollution, the approximately two dozen political parties in the country are engaged in a never-ending series of closed-door meetings—proposing candidates, planning coalitions and defining strategies for the December 14 presidential election. The opposition's hard-won unity and the massive mobilization responsible for the October electoral victory over Gen. Augusto Pinochet (see *In These Times*, Oct. 19, 1988) is dissipating. Politics has left the streets for the party headquarters, where coalition leaders haggle over the apportionment of legislative candidates, ambassadorships, control of ministries and the many other positions that a new government will inherit.

October's resounding vote to end Pinochet's decade and a half of rule and the government's recognition of its defeat has altered the choreography of power. Pinochet should, by all accounts, be a political cadaver, abandoned by most of his allies, alone in the palace recalling the days when he called all the shots.

It is, most likely, Pinochet's last year in power. He is barred from running for another term by his own constitution. But if there's one lesson to be learned from his 15 years of unlimited power, it's to not underestimate this cunning 73-year-old general.

In a January interview with the French daily *Le Monde*, Pinochet compared himself to the Roman dictator Cincinnatus, who after winning many battles for Rome retired peacefully to plow the land, but was later called back by the besieged republic to save it. This historical anal-

ogy was not taken lightly by those Chileans who are convinced that Pinochet is intent on staying in power.

The year began with internal elections for a presidential candidate to represent the Christian Democratic Party (PDC), largest of 17 parties that comprise the opposition coalition.

PDC President Patricio Aylwin, a seasoned politician who supported the overthrow of democratically elected President Salvador Allende in 1973 and who represents the more conservative wing of the party, won the election easily. But Aylwin's victory came amid charges by two more moderate opponents of massive fraud and irregularities. The ensuing scandal reached such proportions that the opposition is openly divided as to the viability of a PDC candidate.

Aylwin's candidacy for the presidency is expected to be supported, if not enthusiastically, by all parties of the opposition coalition, including the Marxist-Leninist Almeyda Socialist Party. Nevertheless, tensions are developing in the coalition, with the left accusing the PDC of "hegemonizing" the electoral process.

The right is also beset with conflicts. Dispirited and fragmented after the plebiscite, it is in disarray. The odds-on favorite as candidate

Gen. Augusto Pinochet



of the *Pinochetistas* is the quiet treasury minister, Hernan Buchi. The darling of the international financial community for his adroit management of the Chilean economy and his efficient repayment of the external debt, Buchi has yet to declare his candidacy. But his close identification with the regime and lack of political experience may hinder his candidacy. So, too, may Buchi's eccentric behavior. The 40-year-old bureaucrat does not own any property, sports a Prince Valiant haircut and uses public transportation to go to work. Preliminary polls indicate that Buchi is running a close second to Aylwin.

The only thing on which everybody, from left to right, seems to agree is that Pinochet's authoritarian constitution must be amended. As the Christian Democratic weekly *Hoy* aptly put it, under the present constitution, when the new president is inaugurated Pinochet will move 100 yards down the street to the Ministry of Defense where he will work as commander in chief of the armed forces. In the afternoons he can stroll from the Ministry of Defense to the Congress, where, according to the constitution, he will be senator for life, and listen to the debates. Then, if there's a law he doesn't like, later that afternoon he can veto it in the National Security Council.

So what is the aging general up to? One thing is clear. Pinochet will not resign as commander in chief of the armed forces. And from that position he could, undoubtedly, engineer a return to power. As a prominent rightist put it, "Pinochet is still in a process of making decisions." As an opposition weekly headlined two weeks ago, this is "the last temptation of Pinochet."

—Marcelo Montecino

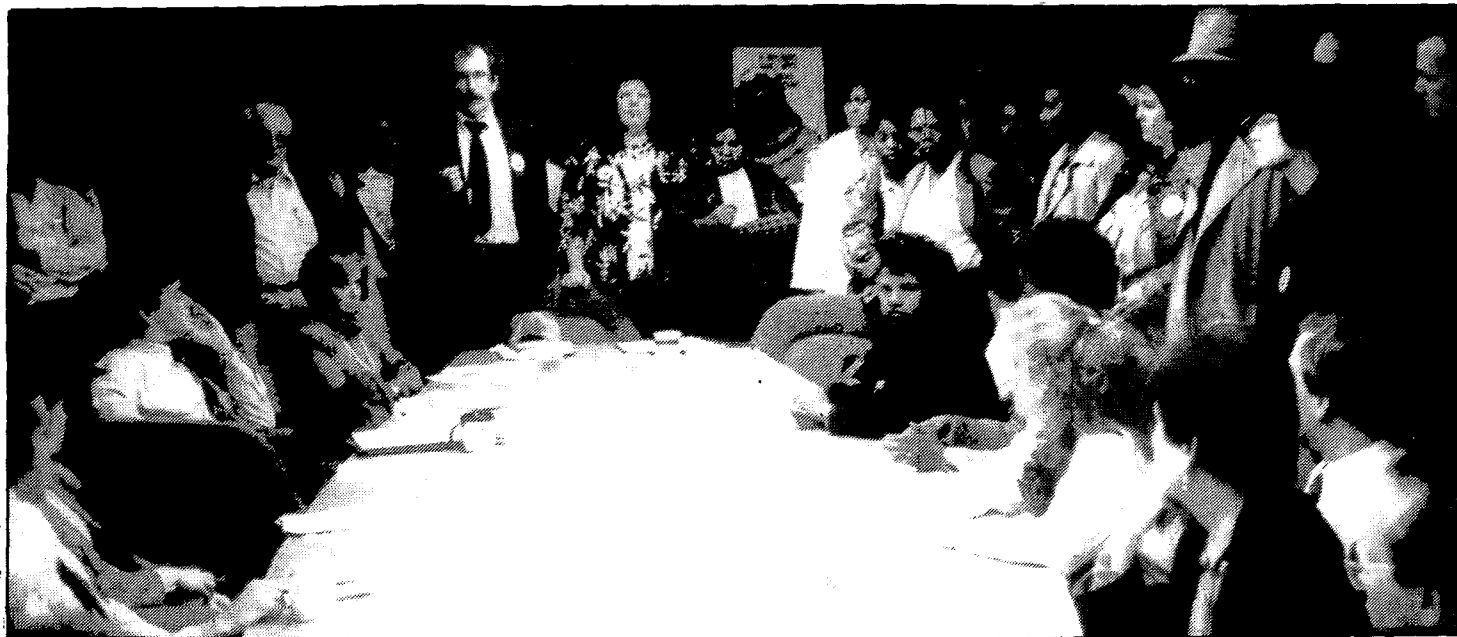
'conditions' attached to the expedited military deliveries, economic assistance and other support." The document strongly infers that this emissary was then-Vice President Bush. According to the document, on March 16 Bush went to Honduras and told Suazo that Reagan, as promised in the February letter, had ordered "expedited delivery of U.S. military items to Honduras, that currently withheld economic assistance for Honduras should be released, that the U.S. would provide from its own military stocks critical security assistance items that had been ordered by Honduran armed forces, and that several security programs under way for Honduran security forces would be enhanced."

Who, me?: Bush has denied that he played any role in providing covert aid to the contras. If the document is accurate—and the Bush administration says it is—then the president is a liar. Last year Bush went on record: "I knew nothing of the shipments by the so-called private network of arms dealers to the contras, as the [congressional] Iran-contra report points out on page 502." The *New York Times*' Stephen Engleberg, as a confirmation of Bush's assertion, writes, "That report stated, 'There is no evidence that Vice President Bush knew about either the contra resupply effort or the diversion of funds to the democratic resistance.'" But Engleberg, like too many other journalists, fails to point out that this statement is found in the "Minority Report," a special chapter of the Iran-contra committee report where the administration's Republican defenders—like Rep. Henry Hyde of Illinois and Rep. Dick Cheney of Wyoming, the current secretary of defense—tried to place the Iran-contra scandal in the best possible light. In fact the subsection of the Minority Report that exonerates Bush is titled "Who did what to help the democratic resistance."

In the loop: According to Malcolm Byrne, an analyst at the National Security Archive in Washington, D.C., the documents released during the North trial indicate that Bush was "entirely in the loop on the contra issue." As Byrne told *In These Times*, "Bush keeps saying, 'Take a look on page 502.' But the Iran-contra committee did not clear him as he and the minority report suggests. According to sources on the committee, both the Democrats and Republicans on the committee studiously avoided digging into what Bush's role was and drawing conclusions. We have known Bush was aware of some of these efforts to support the contras, but for the first time we know that he really had a direct role. It is clear from documents that came out at the trial that Bush was intimately involved in this quid pro quo agreement with Honduras. This newest document also goes into details that weren't known before about several operations. It fleshes out [former Secretary of State George] Shultz's and [former Secretary of Defense Casper] Weinberger's roles—that now turn out to be much more substantial than they have admitted. It makes clear that it was a governmentwide effort to keep the contras supplied in spite of the Boland Amendment." Research assistance by Jim McNeill



Raw Marx: Los Angeles artist Marvin Grayson spent six years carving this larger-than-life Karl Marx statue out of a block of Honduran mahogany. Grayson says he portrayed Marx naked because he wanted "to show both his physical and intellectual strength." But to some critics, Grayson has crafted a full-frontal Marx who, like a Greek god, is both human and divine. In the *People's Daily World*, Steve Grossman writes: "In its presence, one feels a kind of awe, almost as one might feel in the presence of the great genius himself; yet, while larger than life, the figure retains its human scale, suggesting a sort of dialectical description of Marx—he was mortal, merely human, yet simultaneously, much more, a giant...a Marx unbound to fashion, time or place, a Marx for all times. And a Marx, moreover, emphatically and gloriously human."



Rev. Craig Taylor leading an NPA demonstration at the National Home Builders Association in Washington, D.C.

By Jim Naureckas

WASHINGTON, D.C.

PERHAPS THE BEST DESCRIPTION OF NATIONAL People's Action (NPA) was volunteered recently by a member to a pair of Washington yuppies who were eying him uneasily: "It's a hell-raisers' convention."

Officially, though, it's a Chicago-based, nationwide coalition of neighborhood groups that meet once a year in the nation's capital to swap ideas, plan strategy and, well, raise hell—in the form of aggressive demonstrations aimed at federal agencies, legislators and lobbyists. This year's conference, on April 9 and 10, was NPA's 18th.

NPA chair Gale Cincotta helped found the group in 1972 while trying to fight discriminatory lending practices on Chicago's West Side. "They said we'd have to get answers in Washington, figuring we'd go away," she told *In These Times*. "Instead, we figured that if it was happening in Chicago, it was happening all over the country."

Since 1972 the group has sponsored an annual conference, adding new organizations to its roster each year. This year it attracted about 500 people representing more than 60 groups and coalitions. Although the meeting began the same Sunday as the mammoth pro-choice march on the Supreme Court, it shared a hotel with a Republican fundraising convention aptly named the "Inner Circle." NPAers crossed paths with the very people at whom they aim their slogan: "Kinder, Gentler: Prove It!"

NPA's politics have been compared to those of the famous organizer Saul Alinsky. "That basically means we're not afraid of confrontations," said Cincotta. Rather, the group seems to thrive on them. It is famous for its "hits," surprise invasions of targeted institutions by hundreds of raucous demonstrators.

NPAers on a mission are not deterred by security guards, reception desks or "do not enter" signs. When they decide to target someone, they just show up and hang around noisily until they get a meeting. If necessary, they will show up at reluctant officials' homes.

"This isn't the way you do things," complained one of this year's targets, a beleaguered executive who suddenly found 400 chanting protesters in his meeting room.

"It's how we do things," a protester shouted in reply.

And their methods have an amazing record of success. Unlike many left groups, whose pro-

National People's Action: madness is their method

tests can be solipsistic affairs aimed at winning fleeting media attention for a shopping list of issues, NPA's demonstrations are tightly focused and result-oriented.

While the demonstrations may at first appear disorganized, they're actually carefully staged. NPA's strategy is to break down the distance—both literally and figuratively—between the demonstrators and their targets.

ORGANIZING

Once those targets get over their initial panic, they are usually impressed with the group's professionalism. The organizers have done their homework and are willing to work with the targets to realize NPA's agenda.

Home is where the loan is: Housing, for example, is a priority for nearly every NPA group. In the '70s, the coalition lobbied successfully for the Community Reinvestment Act, which in 1979 mandated that financial institutions support development in their own neighborhoods. Member groups have used the act to get lenders to pledge more than \$2 billion for home mortgages—\$1 billion of that in the last year alone.

In 1988 an NPA hit against the Federal National Mortgage Association ("Fannie Mae") helped win new mortgage guidelines, which had previously excluded low-income urban residents.

NPA scored another victory of sorts when reporter Bill Dedman won a Pulitzer prize in late March for articles he wrote last year for the *Atlanta Constitution*. He had worked closely with the South Atlanta Land Trust, an NPA member group, while researching his stories on loan discrimination by Atlanta banks.

(Dedman's articles were less popular with the Atlanta business community, however. Dedman's editor was forced out of his job soon after the series ran. Dedman now works for the *Washington Post*, which reportedly told him that if he ever wanted to cover NPA's activities again he should not accept a planned award from it.)

Despite NPA's numerous successes, the

urban housing crisis continues to deepen. Since 1981 the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has been hit harder than any other federal department, with spending falling from nearly \$38 billion in 1980 to \$15 billion in 1989. One year \$700 million was shuffled from HUD's budget to NASA to help fund the proposed space station.

"In five years we're going to look back on what Reagan's done to housing as one of his greatest debacles," said Rev. Craig Taylor of the South Atlanta Land Trust. Taylor and other organizers draw a link between the housing crisis and the savings and loan (S&L) crisis—a crisis NPA tried to prevent years ago by fighting deregulation.

Taylor said, "The deregulated S&Ls quit investing in housing," preferring to speculate in high-risk, high-profit ventures. Now that many S&Ls need to be rescued, Washington is coming up with the money that could never be found for the housing the S&Ls were supposed to provide in the first place.

NPA understands the need to save the industry, but proposes that it be forced to pay something back. "If they get bailed out and don't come back with anything, that's a free ride for them," said Cincotta.

She helped design NPA's proposed national housing trust fund, which would get 5 percent of the \$125 billion proposed to bail out troubled savings and loan associations. The trust fund, which would be protected from Gramm-Rudman cutbacks, would allow qualified neighborhood groups to support home building and rehabbing in their communities.

Starting a Kemp fire: The trust fund was one of the major ideas NPA leaders presented to HUD Secretary Jack Kemp during an April 10 meeting. Kemp agreed to meet with NPA after discovering on April 8 that his house was to be targeted for a demonstration the next day—by coincidence, the same day he was hosting his daughters' engagement party. Kemp avoided a social clash by agreeing to meet at least twice with NPA representatives.

How long the relationship can stay cordial

is an open question. But NPA officials already have found Kemp more receptive than his predecessor, Samuel Pierce, whose consistent snubbing of the coalition earned him the nickname "Silent Sam."

Not as lucky as Kemp was the National Home Builders Association, which was the subject of an April 10 morning hit. After the invasion, the home builders agreed to let NPA address the problem of affordable housing at its May board meeting.

Cracking up: Of course, housing is just one of the problems facing the low-income citizens that NPA represents. "If we don't get ahold of crime in our neighborhoods, we won't have any housing left," said Douglas Dean, a former Georgia state representative.

Participants in an NPA workshop on drugs shared successful strategies for moving the illegal substances out of communities. They told of programs that allow citizens to let police know where dealers are operating, actions against landlords who allow drugs to be sold on their property and efforts to move new tenants into vacant units that have turned into crack houses.

One idea that generated particular enthusiasm was an effort by Philadelphia's Regional Council of Neighborhood Organizations to pass a state law granting community groups that help bust drug rings a share of the seized assets—a sizable booty that now goes only to the district attorney's office.

Meanwhile, the Justice Department has agreed to sponsor a \$300,000 pilot program that would fund anti-drug efforts by community groups. It is the result of a campaign that was launched with a hit that presented dog biscuits—a reference to the council's expensive "Take a Bite Out of Crime" ad campaign—to the department's National Crime Prevention Council.

Utility rates were also a key issue this year. A hit was carried out against the Edison Electric Institute, an industry lobby, focusing on the utilities' so-called "phantom taxes." Each month utilities collect money from consumers to pay the utilities' annual corporate income taxes. Usually the taxes are collected years before they are due, allowing the utilities to invest the collected taxes for profit. Currently the utilities have amassed a total of \$60 billion from consumers.

When the utilities' tax rates were lowered in 1986, they found they no longer had eventually to pay the federal government \$19 billion of their \$60 billion surplus. The utilities must return the \$19 billion to consumers—but the tax reform law gives them up to 30 years to do so.

NPA supports the Ratepayers Refund Act, sponsored by Rep. Byron Dorgan (D-ND), which would allow states to force utilities to return the money immediately to consumers.

Utility rates, like many items on NPA's hit list, are not necessarily the sexiest of issues. But they are issues that concern the residents of the struggling neighborhoods where NPA supporters reside. Without groups like NPA, those who set policy on these issues might be forever isolated from the communities affected by their policies. "Trying to bring government within reach of the people" is what Cincotta says NPA is all about. □

Jim Naureckas writes regularly for *In These Times* from Washington.

(National People's Action is based at 810 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622.)

By David Moberg

*Lorenzo won't you go
Lorenzo won't you go
Lorenzo won't you go away.*

*We want to run the airline
We want to run it now
We want to run the airline*

And the union will show us how.

—Eastern Airlines strike song, sung to the tune of "I've Been Working on the Railroad"

FOR A WHILE LAST WEEK, HOPEFUL WORKERS at Eastern Airlines thought hated Frank Lorenzo might really be gone. Former baseball commissioner and Olympics impresario Peter Ueberroth had reached an agreement to purchase Eastern Airlines from Texas Air with its three unions, but Texas Air Chairman Frank Lorenzo nixed the \$464-million deal. The sticking point for Lorenzo was the whole point for the unions: Lorenzo had to surrender control.

That deal—or another even less favorable to Lorenzo—may resurface. Pressure is building on Lorenzo from all sides—the unions and their allies, Eastern's creditors, the bankruptcy court (where Lorenzo sought protection for Eastern), and even the directors of Texas Air, who forced Lorenzo to consider Ueberroth's offer.

The six-week-old strike has grounded 90 percent of Eastern's flights and costs the company dearly despite bankruptcy haven. The other part of Lorenzo's empire, Continental Airlines, continues to lose money at the rate of roughly \$50 million a month. It may slip further if the unions and their allies can step up the international boycott they have launched against the carrier. Also, the harder Lorenzo plays ball, the more likely it is that the bankruptcy court, under pressure from creditors, the unions or potential buyers, will examine many of the controversial moves Lorenzo has taken to strip assets from Eastern, often strengthening non-union Continental at Eastern's expense. That could unravel everything megalomaniac Lorenzo has worked to build.

"The people have been absolutely adamant that we won't work under Lorenzo," said Judy Coughlin, secretary-treasurer of the Transport Workers Union, which represents flight attendants. "That's what the strike is all about."

To get rid of Lorenzo, the unions want to find a buyer who can revive Eastern, the victim of many years of mismanagement that culminated with Lorenzo's takeover in 1986. Lorenzo has since decimated Eastern, selling airplanes, cutting routes and firing workers. He has stripped Eastern of major assets, such as its profitable reservation system and East Coast shuttle (sale of which to Donald Trump is still pending). Having crushed the unions at Continental, he has relentlessly attacked them at Eastern.

Ueberroth's allies: Lorenzo's grand strategy to break Eastern's unions was stymied when the pilots union, the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA), who have had often frosty relations with the mechanics and ground crews represented by the International Association of Machinists (IAM), gave their support to the Machinists' March 4 strike. Although less powerful, the flight attendants have played a little noticed but critical role in building solidarity between the and the IAM and have also rallied behind the Machinists' strike. Last Wednesday, as the Ueberroth deal collapsed, Lorenzo lost a key lawsuit claiming that the pilots were illegally striking simply on their own behalf, rather

The deal that might have flown grounded by Lorenzo's baggage

than in sympathy with the Machinists, and should be forced back to work.

Even if Lorenzo was still hoping to divide and conquer the unions, he was under pressure to sell, and Ueberroth was his favored partner. Once involved in managing a small, non-scheduled airline and later as chief executive of a chain of travel agencies and

EASTERN STRIKE

hotels, Ueberroth has close ties to a group of Minneapolis business executives who have interlocking business interests and a stake in Texas Air. One of them, Texas Air Director Carl Pohlad, drew Ueberroth into the bidding for Eastern.

TWA Chairman Carl Icahn had long been interested in buying Eastern, and some of the Machinist leaders have been especially interested in him as well, despite his own hard-line, anti-labor history. Eastern's traditional routes would complement those of TWA, strengthening both airlines. Also, Eastern could use TWA's reservation system and not rely on the one Lorenzo stole from Eastern and gave to Continental (paying only \$100 million in long-term notes for System One, which had a market value of about \$250 million). But a merged TWA-Eastern would

be a potent competitor to Continental, and the loss of Eastern would diminish the value of Lorenzo's System One. A merged TWA-Eastern would also further the concentration of control in the industry that has resulted from deregulation.

Ueberroth's bid for Eastern was in many ways unattractive to the unions and a good deal for Lorenzo, but ultimately the unions accepted it and Lorenzo turned it down. Eastern would have forgiven the \$185 million in debt Continental owed it, transferred another \$79 million in assets and \$200 million in cash to Lorenzo, and would have had

The Ueberroth-Eastern deal seemed ready for takeoff, but when Lorenzo overloaded the package, it couldn't reach speed. Now the unions try again.

to sell the normally money-making shuttle and some Philadelphia properties. Basically, having stripped Eastern of many of its crown

jewels, drained it of cash and reduced it drastically in size, Lorenzo would end up selling it for more than he originally spent to acquire it. And once again, just as when Lorenzo took over, Eastern would be financing most of its own takeover.

The unions, on the other hand, reportedly were ready to give up \$210 million in hard cash concessions each year. Because pilots and flight attendants gave up wages in 1986 when the Machinists did not (the IAM conditioned its concession on firing then-Chairman Frank Borman), the Machinists would have surrendered by far the most—about \$165 million. Management insiders suggested that Eastern set up a deal that the company thought the combative Machinists would find totally unpalatable, thereby setting up conflict among the unions.

But during intense weekend negotiations forced by a deadline of April 10 set by the court-appointed examiner, the unions fairly quickly agreed on how to share the pain and concentrated on two issues: how to make Eastern viable if Ueberroth bought it, and how to get Lorenzo out and keep him out forever. The agreement reportedly contained an abundance of protections against future takeovers, especially by Lorenzo, or

Continued on page 10

Workers' share in corporations: to buy or not to buy

Any eventual Eastern Airlines buyer undoubtedly will, like Peter Ueberroth, offer workers partial ownership. Increasingly unions, especially in the airlines industry, demand some ownership stake in partial exchange for the value of their concessions. More broadly, unions use worker ownership as part of emerging "capital strategies," influencing investment and ownership to defend workers.

As part of a 1984 agreement that gave them seats on the board of directors and a voice in shop floor management in exchange for wage concessions, Eastern employees also got 25-percent ownership of the company through a special issue of preferred stock. After Frank Lorenzo bought the company in 1986, workers repeatedly refused to sell their stake to him. Employees at Republic, Western and PSA airlines all took shares for concessions before their troubled lines were bought.

Employee ownership plans are expanding rapidly, but most are initiated by management in non-union companies. Many companies have been seeking new tax advantages, replacing all or part of traditional pensions with Employee Stock Ownership Plans (ESOPs), or using ESOPs as defenses against corporate raiders (since employees are more likely to side with current management), according to National Center for Employee Ownership (NCEO) Executive Director Corey Rosen. But most ESOPs represent conversion of privately held companies (for example, when an owner is retiring) or employee buyouts of units spun off after leveraged buyout takeovers.

Unions have been leery of employee ownership, but increasingly several big

unions are using it as part of varied strategies. The United Steelworkers of America have used employee ownership to save jobs, recover part of concessions and give workers more of a voice and stake in reviving companies. Now one-fifth of the union's steel industry members are in wholly or partly employee-owned firms. The most dramatic steel success story has been Weirton Steel, where there is an independent union.

But unions have used employee ownership in a more aggressive way to challenge corporate management. The Air Line Pilots Association has spent \$10 million so far trying to buy United Airlines. By putting the airline "into play" as a takeover target, they didn't succeed in buying it, but they stopped the company's diversification into hotels and rental cars and broke up parent Allegis. They drove out United Chairman Richard Ferris, whose strategies they disliked. But now they and the International Association of Machinists are at odds over whether to pursue employee ownership.

Unions have organized employee buyouts of firms that multinationals wanted to divest (like British Petroleum's abandonment of Chase Brass in Cleveland after taking over Sohio) or private owners who wanted to leave the business (like Northwestern Steel & Wire in Sterling, Ill.). They've even helped make competitive bids against raiders.

"Unions are becoming more aggressive" in their use of employee ownership, argued Malon Wilkus, president of American Capital Strategies, at the annual NCEO conference last week. "They're getting more sophisticated, more sold on the

idea that ESOPs can be a valuable tool to protect their members. They're even contemplating using ESOPs as part of organizing drives," telling potential recruits that unions can help set up ESOPs as part of its service to them.

But Rosen emphasized that managers now realize, through their own experience and NCEO's research, that employee ownership has little impact on improving performance or quality unless there is also strong employee participation and decisionmaking.

In 1984 Eastern employees showed how they could save the airline millions of dollars and do work in-house more cheaply than it could be contracted out. Their participation made work more enjoyable, increased employment and eliminated the need for many supervisors. But Joseph Blasi, a California Polytechnic University expert on employee ownership who studied Eastern for the Labor Department, said that the successful experiment was ended through a "unilateral assertion of power by [then-Eastern Chairman] Frank Borman. He needed further cuts [in worker pay], and he didn't want to prove that or ask for them. And he got nervous about employee involvement, because it challenged management rights."

Workers at Eastern learned what they could do for themselves as well as the company when they got more control over their work and more reward for their innovation. But they also learned not to trust management. Whoever tries to revive Eastern by relying on employee ownership and worker participation will inherit both legacies.

—D.M.

By Salim Muwakkil

Young blacks discovering a new sense of community

THE DEEP RUMBLE OF AMPLIFIED BASS SPEAKERS shakes the ground as the Jeep pulls into a parking lot on Chicago's South Side. From the fashionable vehicle exit three young black men dressed in the latest urban uniform: bulbous sneakers, pastel warmup suits, rakishly tilted baseball caps and large leather-crafted images of the African continent draped around their necks. The African continent?

In cities across the U.S., African-American youth suddenly are embracing symbols of their once-disparaged heritage. Images of the African continent; the colors red, black and green; and other insignia of African nationalism are appearing on everything from T-shirts to bumper stickers. Trendwatching clothing stores in black neighborhoods throughout the country are stocking racks of African-oriented items. In one inner-city Chicago shopping district, for example, Korean craftsmen are churning out red, black and green, mock-leather African necklaces by the thousands.

This consumer focus on gaudy symbolism makes it easy to dismiss this trendy black nationalism as just another fad. But many observers see it as the initial stages of a reinvigorated black power movement. A new sensibility is dawning, they argue, and it is being manifested across the class spectrum from inner cities to college campuses.

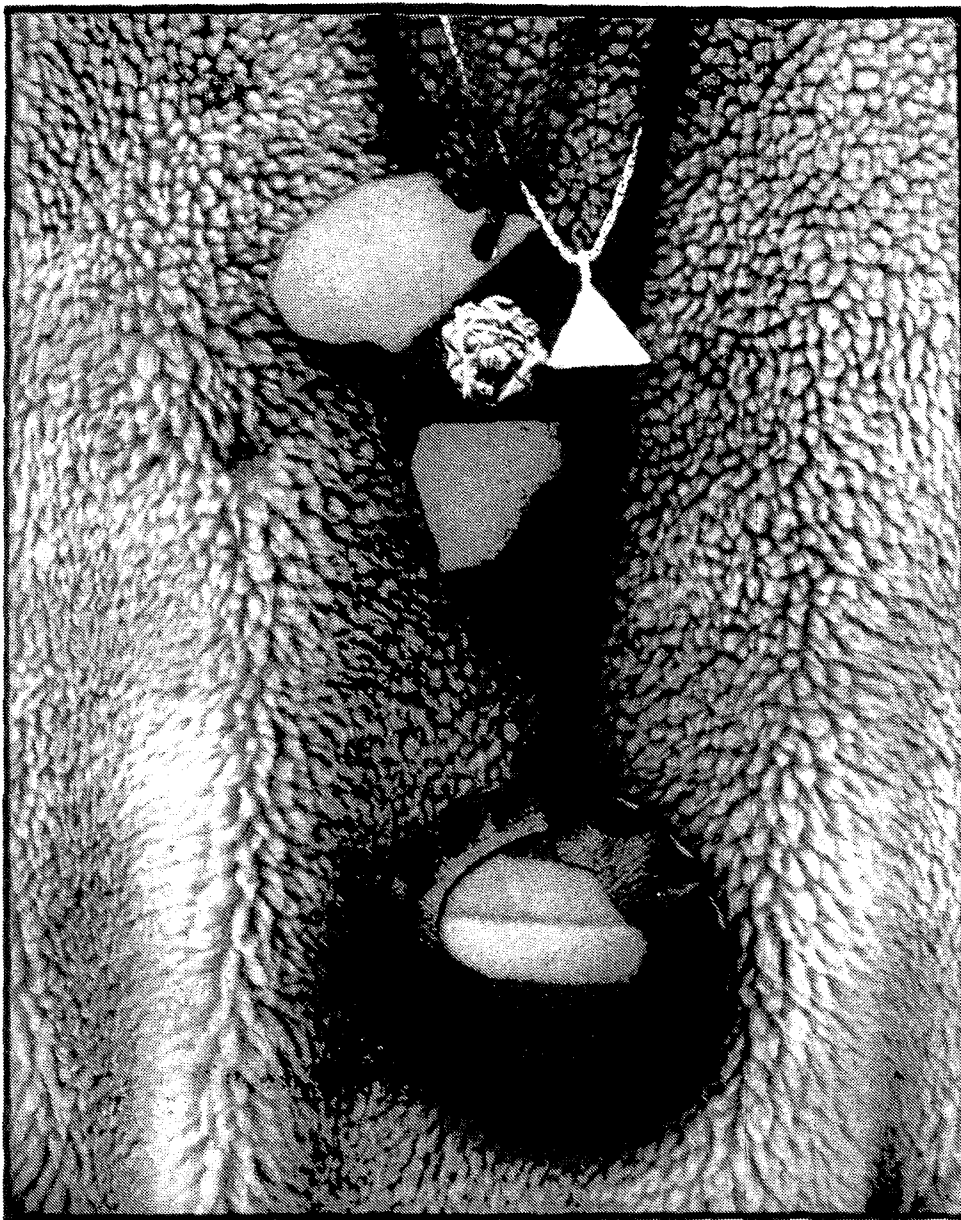
"There is definitely something significant happening among young black men in New York," says Greg Tate, a writer for the *Village Voice*. "Visually, you see it in the Africa medallions and the sculptured hightop haircuts. You hear it in the lyrics of the rappers. But it's also something much deeper than that; there's a new sense of camaraderie and fraternalism among young African-American men on the streets of the city. It's something positive that snuck up while no one was looking."

Litany of woes: Recent news from the inner cities has not been good. Poverty has become more entrenched, the so-called underclass is expanding, and urban educational systems are deteriorating, while crime, crack and AIDS add new dimensions of misery. Federal drug chief William Bennett and Housing Secretary Jack Kemp both have characterized these neighborhoods as "Third-World areas." Unfortunately, the lack of empathy suggested in that characterization also defines this administration's approach to addressing the problems of the underclass.

Despite President George Bush's rhetoric, there is a general sense that mainstream America is no longer interested in the plight of its black citizens. And when white Americans turn away, black Americans turn inward. Since the civil rights movement, motivated by a philosophical commitment to integration, is ideologically ill-equipped to lead the charge for self-reliance, black nationalist philosophy is most attractive to African-Americans during periods of racial retrenchment.

"Hey man, it's really no secret why we've got to change," says Ramon Wade, a young black Chicagoan who hosts a radio program featuring rap music. "We see our friends and relatives suffering and dying and generally catching hell out here, and we're tired of it. It's as simple as that."

Wade says the new attitude about their African roots is charging up the street youth with whom he comes in contact. "I do a lot of rap shows in different neighborhoods, and



A new kind tokenism: African continent amulet and grigri on a neck ornament.

I'm telling you, brothers love to hear raps about strong, responsible black men and the glorious history of the mother continent. There are some new role models being

BLACK AMERICA

born." That this fierce new spirit of affirmation is emerging from the black underclass—the most despised segment of the U.S. population—may be a kind of poetic justice. That it's also spreading among black college students is justice of another kind.

"Our leaders have failed, by and large, to provide a way for us. We don't know where they want us to go and, quite simply, we're not satisfied with them," says Sherry Warren, a student leader at Howard University, a historically black college in Washington, D.C. "Consequently," she adds, "we've decided to provide our own leadership. And when I say 'we,' I'm talking about a movement of students on campuses all across the country."

Warren is a member of the Black Nia Force, the group that spearheaded the successful protest that ousted Republican National Committee Chairman Lee Atwater from Howard's board of directors. While ideologically ecumenical—"we study everyone and use what we think is relevant"—her group has a decided black nationalist orientation. She says the Nation of Islam's Louis Farrakhan is "very popular, because he's talking about black empowerment and self-development."

Stop the violence: While it's difficult to trace the evolution of this new development,

most of the involved youth credit various rap groups for helping spread this new attitude. Rap music is a cultural product of the inner-city underclass, and performers are beginning to demonstrate increased concern for the deteriorating conditions of the communities that nurtured them. More specifically, they are addressing the crippling attitude of self-hatred that manifests itself in so many fratricidal patterns within the African-American community.

"The stop-the-violence movement was started by a New York rapper named Kris Parker," says Wade. "He got together with some others, and they decided to make a record on the subject—entitled 'Self-Destruction'—and mount a full-scale attack on black-on-black crime. As a result, black youth across the country are much more aware of the situation."

With its oral emphasis, rap music has a rhetorical dimension lacking in other musical genres, and its raging popularity provokes uneasiness among those wary of its influence. In its early stages, the genre was characterized by the boast and bombast of young black males seeking affirmation in a culture that rarely offers it. Since rap appeals directly to those caught in the violence-prone lifestyle of the underclass, rap has the reputation of being a trigger for violence.

Agit rap: Although the music remains raw and largely unconcerned with social therapy, various artists have decided to expand the genre's thematic repertoire. Similar attempts at agitprop were made in the black commu-

nity during the '60s, with groups like the Last Poets. But the popularity of these groups was limited to a small coterie of college students and cult fans. Message-laden rap music combines the social urgency of the Last Poets with the mass appeal of Motown.

"There is definitely an escalating sensibility among black Americans," says Cornel West, professor of religion and director of Afro-American studies at Princeton University. "And rap music definitely has played an important part in its development." West says he is fascinated by the conjunction of street and campus culture. "Now it's up to us to develop this unique historical moment into something solid, something organized, something institutional."

West strongly urges the African-American movement to change its emphasis from what he calls "the TV politics of Jesse Jackson" to more substantial efforts outside the electoral arena. A growing number of theorists are echoing West's assessment that the exclusive quest for political power has diverted much-needed resources and general wherewithal from the basic struggle for black empowerment.

Electoral politics was just one of many strategies proposed in the '60s by movement theorists. And, in fact, the thrust has been quite successful: the number of black elected officials jumped from fewer than 1,000 in 1968 to nearly 7,000 in 1989. But the electoral arena alone is inadequate to address the constellations of needs bequeathed by centuries of racist oppression. And, in fact, it was never intended as a singular strategy.

However, the African-American community is so hungry for signs of progress that political successes are accorded an exaggerated significance. Unfortunately, this strict electoral focus obscures other elements of the strategy for black empowerment—establishing a sense of cultural pride in African ancestry to help offset the Eurocentric bias inherent in American culture, and creating self-reliant economic structures.

"Our leaders have been wasting time since the '60s," says Howard's Warren. "We intend to change that and, according to the response we're getting from black students across the country, we're going to change it." □

The colors of Africa

Derrick Warrick, 18, wears a large leather depiction of the African continent around his neck. He wears it to show pride in his heritage. "Just two years ago I used to laugh when anybody said Africa," Warrick explains. "We used to make fun of the way Africans look. Not just how they are shown in Tarzan movies and all that, but even the way modern Africans look who drive cabs in Chicago. But now I understand."

Warrick believes this new embrace of Africa among young blacks is a good thing, but he cautions that many who wear the trendy symbols don't have a clue as to what they mean. "I know a lot of brothers who are just wearing these Africa necklaces because everyone else is wearing them."

Vernon Nealy, 16, admits he's unaware of the meaning of the red, black and green Africa symbol he has sewn onto the back of his jacket, but he likes the way it looks. "I've seen some members of Public Enemy [a popular rap group] with these pictures on their clothes, and I wanted to look like them," he says.

—S.M.

By Stephen J. Simurda

RECENT SOVIET ELECTIONS REPUDIATING the country's status quo grabbed headlines around the world and stunned many Western analysts. But virtually unreported in the weeks leading up to the elections was another important change—one that means the Soviet Union's trade relationship with the West will be dramatically different in the future. Whatever is happening politically in the Soviet Union, the nation's economy is clearly moving toward greater democratization.

U.S. experts say that a Soviet Council of Ministers resolution issued before the election calls for several major changes in the way the Soviet Union conducts business with foreigners. The decree allows virtually any Soviet entity to do business outside the USSR if it offers "a product that is competitive on the foreign market." Up until now the Soviet Union has continued to maintain tight state control over which enterprises could conduct foreign trade.

Back in the USSR: The decree will also ensure that for the first time in 50 years a foreign company can run a business in the world's largest communist country. The key changes in this area of the resolution deal with joint Soviet-foreign ventures. "What it says, in effect, is that the only requirement is that there be a Soviet partner," says David Kelley, visiting scholar at Harvard University's Russian Research Center.

No longer is a foreign partner limited to a minority ownership position or required to give up to the Soviets most of the management control for the venture. Foreigners can now hold the positions of chairman or director of joint ventures, and they can exercise control over who is hired and what they are paid. The Soviets are also planning a sweeping overhaul of their customs tariff regulations to make themselves more competitive in the Western market (see accompanying story).

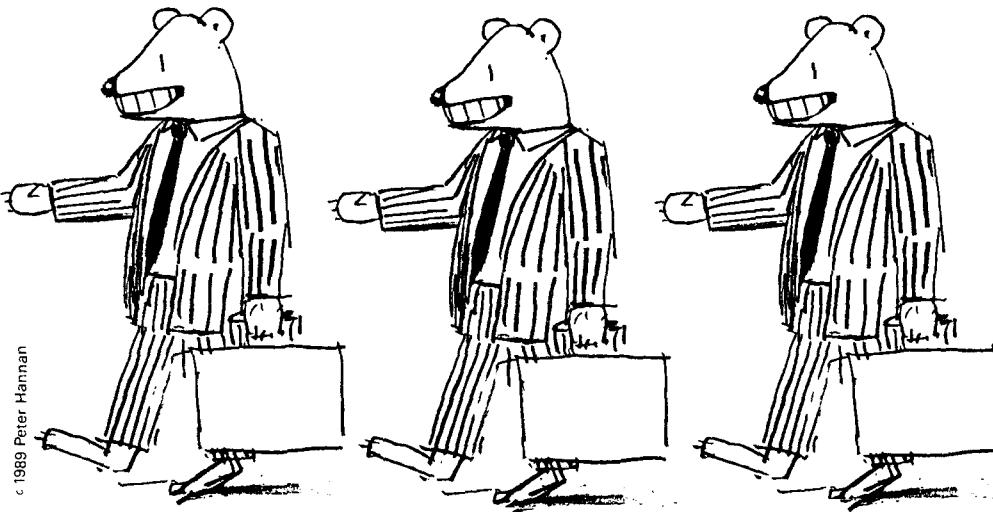
The resolution goes on to call for the creation of joint enterprise zones, in which foreign businesses will get favorable economic treatment. And there are even steps being taken to reform the complex Soviet currency system, which is encumbered by some 6,000 different internal exchange rates for the ruble but not one foreign exchange rate.

The Council of Ministers resolution has "apparently laid the groundwork for what would be, to put it mildly, radical changes" in the Soviet business climate, says Kelley.

But what effect these changes will have on average Soviet citizens and workers remains to be seen. So far, Kelley notes, Western economic influence has had almost no effect on the availability of basic products in the Soviet Union—and public indications of foreign investment can be seen only in Moscow. In addition, workers who have toiled for years under the egalitarian, if inefficient, communist system may be ill-prepared to deal with the demands for increased productivity exerted by Western business owners.

"Unemployment and inflation, if the reforms continue, are something that are going to set in," says Kelley. "People are going to get wealthy, prices are going to get high...and a lot of workers are going to feel cheated, going to feel betrayed."

Missing the big news: Despite the broad scope of the resolution, when it was issued



From socialist enterprises to entrepreneurial entities

in December it received only scant attention in the Western press. The few reports that did appear focused primarily on the possibility of a significant currency devaluation in the Soviet Union. Such a devaluation would be a first step toward establishing rates at which the ruble could be exchanged for currencies from foreign countries—a move Moscow has long resisted. Subsequent reports indicated that this interpretation was premature, as the Soviets quickly backpedaled away from any commitment to devalue the ruble in anything other than internal transactions between Soviet entities.

But American experts who have studied the decree since then say that lost in that debate were more significant changes, some of which have already taken effect. For example, as of April 1, virtually any Soviet entity with a product or service to sell outside of the Soviet Union now has permission to begin export or import operations.

The resolution, an English translation of which appeared in the New Jersey-based trade publication *Interflo*, minces no words in explaining why such steps are being taken to further open the Soviet economy. Quite simply it explains that economic changes already made in the Soviet Union have not been enough to stimulate that country's

moribund economy. Various Soviet ministries must still act upon the resolution in coming months. But there is little doubt that the changes it spells out will take place, since the the Council of Ministers is the governing body for all Soviet ministries.

"I don't think there's any possibility it won't become law," says Paul Surovell, publisher of *Interflo*.

In fact, Sarah C. Carey, a Washington, D.C., attorney whose clients include several U.S. companies doing business in the Soviet

SOVIET UNION

Union, says any further Soviet action on the resolution involves nothing more than red tape. "I think it could be treated as law now," she says.

And the terms of that law represent a big

While the Western press focuses on ethnics and elections, the Soviets are busily prying off the political restraints on their economy, starting with foreign trade.

And the terms of that law represent a big

improvement for foreign firms that have long complained of controls still imposed upon them in Soviet business ventures. Henry A. Raab, a New York business consultant who has done business in the Soviet Union for nearly 20 years, calls the significance of the changes "enormous. It will be a complete breakthrough, a complete turnaround" in the Soviet business climate, he says.

But Jan Vanous—research director for PlanEcon, a Washington, D.C., firm that specializes in analyzing economic developments in the USSR—is quick to counsel some caution for U.S. businesses interested in Soviet trade. "I want to see what [the resolution] really means," he says. "There is an awful lot of talk in the Soviet Union. Talk is cheap."

And Kelley notes that while the resolution broadened the types of Soviet enterprises allowed to get involved in foreign trade, a subsequent decree took back some of that. That decree (issued Dec. 29, 1988) limited the role of Soviet cooperatives in these sweeping changes by denying them the right to deal in hard-currency transactions or get involved in foreign trade in a variety of industries.

Made in the USSR: These cooperatives, which are *perestroika's* answer to free enterprise, represent some of the most dynamic areas in the Soviet economy. As such they have the potential to create new exports without the help of foreigners, an option the Soviets would clearly prefer.

But for the average Soviet citizen, many of the changes going on in the USSR have yet to hit home—and may not for a while. "Things are changing dramatically in theory, but there don't seem to be dramatic changes in real life," says Kelley. And while many foreigners want to sell sophisticated consumer products to the Soviet market, Moscow would rather have Soviet industries learn how to produce such items themselves rather than simply import.

That probably means it will still be a few years before anyone but the Soviet elite enjoys any potential benefits from the swing toward free enterprise in the USSR. "The reality of the thing is it's a slow, simmering kind of change," says Kelley.

Stephen J. Simurda writes regularly for *These Times*.

If cold war becomes trade war, Soviets will side with the European Community

The Soviets, like the rest of the world, are looking to 1992 to see how they can benefit from trade with an economically united Europe (see story on page 11). Ironically, the changes they are making to prepare for a truly common Western European market could lead to a trade war with the U.S., a country that has greatly hindered Soviet trade for 15 years.

The Soviet Council of Ministers resolution calls for suggestions from eight government ministries by Jan. 1, 1990, for a new Soviet customs tariff. The new measures would govern what types of products are allowed in the USSR and how much it would cost to bring them in. The regulations are aimed at controlling supply and demand in the Soviet Union and will serve "as a base for conducting international trade talks."

The resolution specifically mentions

trade talks with the European Economic Community and the possibility of some "effective non-tariff regulation of USSR foreign economic ties." In other words, the Soviets appear willing to make it easy for certain countries to trade with them. The U.S., however, may not be one of those countries.

"What the Soviets are going to do with their customs and tariff laws is seduce the European market," says David Kelley of Harvard University's Russian Research Center. Many European countries have already proven themselves more eager than the U.S. to conduct business in the Soviet Union. Nations such as West Germany, Finland, Austria and Italy have all signed more Soviet joint venture agreements than the U.S.

For the Soviets, the biggest irritant regarding trade with the U.S. is the 1974

Jackson-Vanik amendment, which imposes the highest possible tariffs on Soviet products brought into the U.S. until the Russians allow free emigration from their country. The U.S. also limits the types of products, particularly in the technology area, that may be exported to the Soviet Union, citing security concerns.

Kelley predicts that while the Soviets may make trade easy for the Europeans, they may erect big barriers for countries such as the U.S. in retaliation for restrictions like Jackson-Vanik. Will a trade war ensue? "I don't think there's any question about it," says Kelley.

Congressional leaders have said that doing away with Jackson-Vanik must be a presidential initiative and, so far, George Bush has said nothing to indicate he plans to lift the restrictions. —S.J.S.

Continued from page 7

Continental deride: Union leaders, reflecting members' sentiments, had a gut passion never to work for Lorenzo again. But they also feared that Lorenzo would use the Ueberroth deal to end the strike, then break off the sale and resume control. They also worried that he might try to steal Eastern properties for Continental, which some union observers think he has been doing during the strike. One union consultant asked, "Can you expect some guy who's going to be your chief competitor to do the things necessary to build a grounded airline back up? The next two months are a big deal."

Eastern's creditors, who have stood by their corporation despite earlier union efforts to use their leverage against management, criticized both the viability of the Ueberroth deal and many of the transfers of assets from Eastern. Finally, they adopted the unions' major criticisms of Lorenzo, but

Why did Lorenzo so desperately want to avoid a trustee that he scuttled the deal? He may be still personally reluctant to sell or may have indeed had short-term schemes to hurt Eastern to his and Continental's ultimate benefit. He may have discovered that a ploy to divide the unions and have them reject a sale backfired and nearly forced him out. And he may have resisted for reasons of prestige, not just because his enormous ego would be damaged, but also because the stigma of having been labeled a danger to his own company would undermine his future financial adventures. Also, if the sale fell through, the trustee would still be in charge, and Lorenzo would have lost his right in the first stages of bankruptcy proceedings to be the only proponent of reorganization plans.

Eastern's unions last week were ready to negotiate, even to make huge financial sacrifices, to get rid of Lorenzo and run their airline right. The unions showed they are not the obstacle to salvaging Eastern. Frank Lorenzo showed that he is.

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By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

This is the second of a two-part series.

WITH THE SINGLE MARKET SCHEDULED to go into effect in the 12 countries of the European Community (EC) at the end of 1992, doubts are surfacing among the promoters of united Europe. Some worry that Europe will be too united, while others worry that it will not be united enough.

In the first category are American leaders who, after years of carping about the nuisance of having to deal with a bunch of Western European allies instead of just one sensible entity, are suddenly setting off alarms at the "protectionism" of "Fortress Europe." Then there are the Europeans who worry that Single Market Europe will leave them very unprotected indeed.

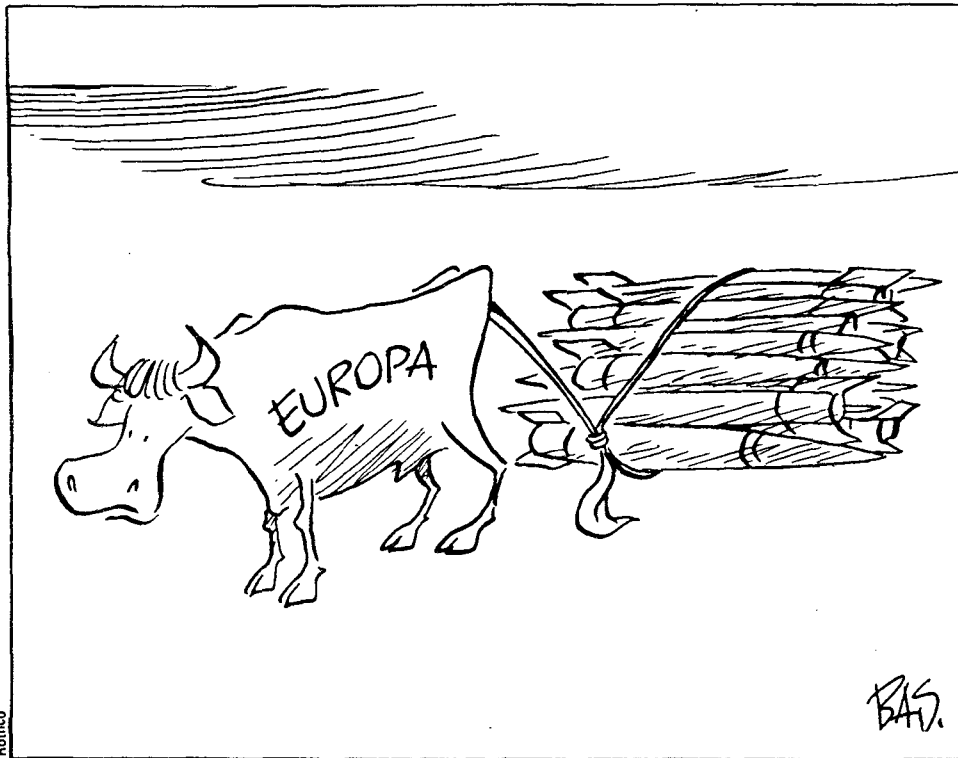
Some European businessmen fear that U.S. and Japanese multinationals will squeeze them out. The peace movement is afraid that a unified Europe is a pretext and base for a new nuclear military superpower. Green Party members worry that the Single Market has been designed precisely to stimulate the same sort of economic growth that is already destroying the environment. Consumer groups are afraid that the lifting of national standards will wipe out the rich authentic variety of European products in favor of cheap imitations. Conservatives warn that Europe will be wide open to terrorists, drug dealers and Third-World immigrants.

The political promoters of Western European integration have another problem. They are beginning to worry that the market is being integrated without the social, cultural, political and military dimensions of the Community they set out to build, some 40 years ago, somewhat on the model of the U.S.

Socialists have defined the problem as the "democratic deficit" concerning social policy. The cross-border freedom granted business and finance risks undermining the social welfare policies in the member states. For years there has been talk of "social Europe," meaning measures to preserve existing social protections at Community level, but nothing has been done. Indeed nothing can be done without a change in the rules. Unlike the 300 measures to unify the market being put through by majority vote, social measures (except for harmonizing working conditions regarding safety and health) require unanimity, and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is always there to say no. Emphatically.

Welfare or warfare? Socialists and social democrats are concentrating on the weakness, or rather non-existence, of "social Europe" because welfare state measures are, after all, their stock in trade, and they risk revolt by their constituency in a Europe without any. Former European Commissioner Claude Cheysson, who was Mitterrand's first foreign minister, warns flatly that, "If Europe continues to slide toward Thatcher's dream, it will reach a point where it will no longer be acceptable." The British prime minister wants to extend what she's done in Britain to the European Community, and "has no interest in the weak who do not participate in economic growth," Cheysson points out. He observes that this is particularly dangerous socially when the logic of growth is to seek financial profit through speculation, and when an "up market" for the prosperous is able to provide economic growth and profit. Those who are left out don't count. He asks what is to become of this new "Third Estate."

Especially in France, where the Fourth Es-



A united Europe's choice: stay social or go strategic?

tate, the media, has been overselling "Europe," the backlash could be powerful.

Thus it was in the interests of "Europe" itself that 39-year-old star technocrat (a role possible in France) Alain Minc came along just now to break the spell of *Europhoria* in France with a splashy bestseller debunking the "myth of Europe" as *La Grande Illusion*.

COMMON MARKET

An Italian journalist described Minc as a sort of "Penelope, who unravels at night what he wove during the daytime." For in the daylight Minc is an aide to Italian financier Carlo de Benedetti, chairman of Olivetti and one of the architects of the Single Market which Minc exposes as nothing but deregulation. However, lowering overblown expectations is clearly meant to be a timely service to the multinationals backing the Single Market.

Minc is a typically French "Western" chauvinist. The "West" is the home of all civilized virtues, and the East is East, etc. Russia, of course, is outside the "West," and thus inferior in almost everything, but is permanently superior in cunning, military strength and long-term expansionist strategy. "Europe" (meaning Western Europe) must therefore be unified above all around a strategy. Minc's message is that the French must not just sit back and expect "Europe" to arrive in January 1993. All that will be delivered will be a radically deregulated economy. To build a real political Europe with a unified foreign policy and an integrated defense will take immense determination and imagination (Minc offers a few wild ideas of his own), because it is almost too late.

For Minc, the real problem is not Thatcher's dogged opposition to social measures. He shifts the argument from the economic to the strategic field. The real problem is West Germany. The idea of the European Community was a united Western Europe. But now the Federal Republic of Germany is rediscovering that it is not exactly in the West, but in the middle of Europe. It has neighbors on both sides and is increasingly interested in the ones to the East. Central Europe is making a comeback. Inasmuch

as West Germany is also the strongest economy in the EC, if things go on like this, the EC will be no more than a unified market in part of a continent dominated by the Germans. Faced with this dangerous "continental drift," Minc exhorts the French to hurry up and do something to stop the "continentalization" of Europe.

As a last-minute expedient for holding the Germans in the West, Minc suggests offering them the strategic protection of the French *force de frappe*, complete with an open declaration of its hitherto scarcely mentionable "trigger strategy." This is the notion (dating back to the early '60s) that a small French force is a deterrent in the superpower league, since its use could "trigger" a nuclear conflict dragging even a reluctant U.S. into all-out nuclear defense of Europe. Minc uses the prettier word *allumette* (match). Since it could "set fire to everything" and force Washington into war, France has the means to ensure "Atlantic solidarity," writes Minc.

With solidarity like that, who needs enemies? If this is the best Atlanticism has to offer, it is in its death throes and the peace movement can stop worrying about the Franco-German nuclear superpower. Oddly enough, the rave reviews for Minc's book

Beneath the desire for economic integration lies the old worry about the Germans.

(and even more for Minc himself) in the British and American press fail to mention this key strategic thought. Instead, Anglo-American reviewers seem pleased that although he is French, Minc recommends English as the "Esperanto of Europe."

Pink the Bismarck: Germany's rejection of the French vision of a Western European Community is neither as new nor as total as Minc makes out. With a more powerfully competitive industry, the Federal Republic has always been more inclined toward free trade than France. West Germany doesn't

want to sacrifice its relations with Eastern Europe, but neither does it want to sacrifice its relations with the U.S. and, for that matter, the rest of the world.

On the other hand, Bismarck's Germany was a pioneer of the welfare state, and nowhere is resistance to Thatcherism more solid than in Germany. Cheysson has pointed out that if French Socialists are to find allies for policies to protect regions, the environment and social benefits, they must look to the social forces in the Federal Republic, which has both the most powerful unions and the most advanced social system.

There are four main types of logic currently dominating debates on Europe: market, military, social and ecological. The logic of capitalism, which has dictated the Single Market measures, tends not to stay within the boundaries even of a European Community, but to be planetary in its scope. In contrast, the military and the social welfare state are traditionally linked to the nation-state. In both these fields, there is considerable dismay as to where their fate will be decided if and when the integrated market seriously weakens the nation-state's independent decisionmaking capacity. The French have always tended to see "Europe"—the EC—as an enlarged nation-state on the French model, with France nevertheless miraculously preserving its autonomy inside it. The military logic argues strongly for such a superstate since the cost of modern high-tech weaponry has been soaring beyond the capacity of a medium-sized nation-state like France to keep up.

Trash the treaty? Thatcher's Britain, for all its resolute opposition to a European superstate in the social welfare field, is also thinking in terms of strategic and military integration of the EC, as shown by the British government's insistence that if it wants to join the EC, Austria must abandon its policy of neutrality. The British position is that EC members must be available for membership in a common military defense (except for Ireland, whose peculiarity can be overlooked). This is outrageous, since it means demanding that Austria violate its treaty pledges to the Soviet Union, in return for which the USSR withdrew its occupation forces from Austria after World War II.

These different logics produce unstable political alliances. Sometimes openly and sometimes in semisecret, the French Socialists have sided with the British Conservatives against the German Social Democrats on strategic questions, while opposing Thatcher's anti-social policies.

Meanwhile, the rise of ecological movements is going hand in hand with a completely new internationalism. Europe's Green parties consider both the nation-state and the EC to be institutions of the past. "The EC is not Europe, and Europe is not the world," was a sentiment expressed frequently at the conference of European Greens held in Paris in early April. The Greens think in terms of regions and the planet. This logic is gaining in political excitement as Green movements arise in Eastern Europe.

Environmental activism is opening new doors to public participation in Eastern Europe, German Green Petra Kelly told the European Green meeting. "We must not let the doors be slammed shut with the creation of a European fortress," she said. Kelly means a fortress in the literal sense: a military superpower.

There is no agreement today on what Europe should be, or even where it is. □

IN THESE TIMES, APRIL 19-25, 1989 11

Editor's note: The following dispatch is based on 20 local interviews on the Israeli-occupied West Bank. In some instances names have been changed to protect respondents.

By Joe Lockard

NABLUS, WEST BANK

PALESTINIANS SOMETIMES CALL THIS CITY THE "Mountain of Fire." According to one local story, when the troops of Napoleon Bonaparte marched on Nablus during his Levantine campaign of 1799, residents met the invaders with brush fires and rocks hurled from the slopes of Mount Gerizim, which rises above the town.

The story is mythical. Its real meaning lies in Nablus' self-image as a bastion of Palestinian national passion.

During the Palestinian *intifada*, or uprising, Israeli troops and Nablus inhabitants have engaged in a bitter fight for control of the town. The narrow, twisting alleys of the *casbah* witness a daily face-off between Palestinian youth and soldiers. Shops shutter at 11 a.m., obeying strike orders. Streets empty. Troops move in.

They patrol warily, watching the roofs above, or they chase rock-throwing children through back alleys. Rarely do the soldiers catch a rock-thrower. Instead they are likely to break into family apartments in hot pursuit or rough up passersby out of frustration.

One morning last February a heavy rock dropped from a roof and didn't miss. An Israeli reserve sergeant died almost instantly.

The Israeli army, acutely sensitive to its own casualties, reacted with outrage. Gen. Amran Mitzna, head of the central command, promised that Nablus would "learn a lesson." A full curfew was imposed. Families were confined to their small apartments in the teeming *cashbah*. As food supplies gave out, the Red Cross lodged humanitarian appeals with the Israeli government.

Reinforced Israeli units combed the city, searching every dwelling in specific "fighting" neighborhoods. One tactic was to visit an apartment repeatedly, breaking an additional piece of furniture on each visit.

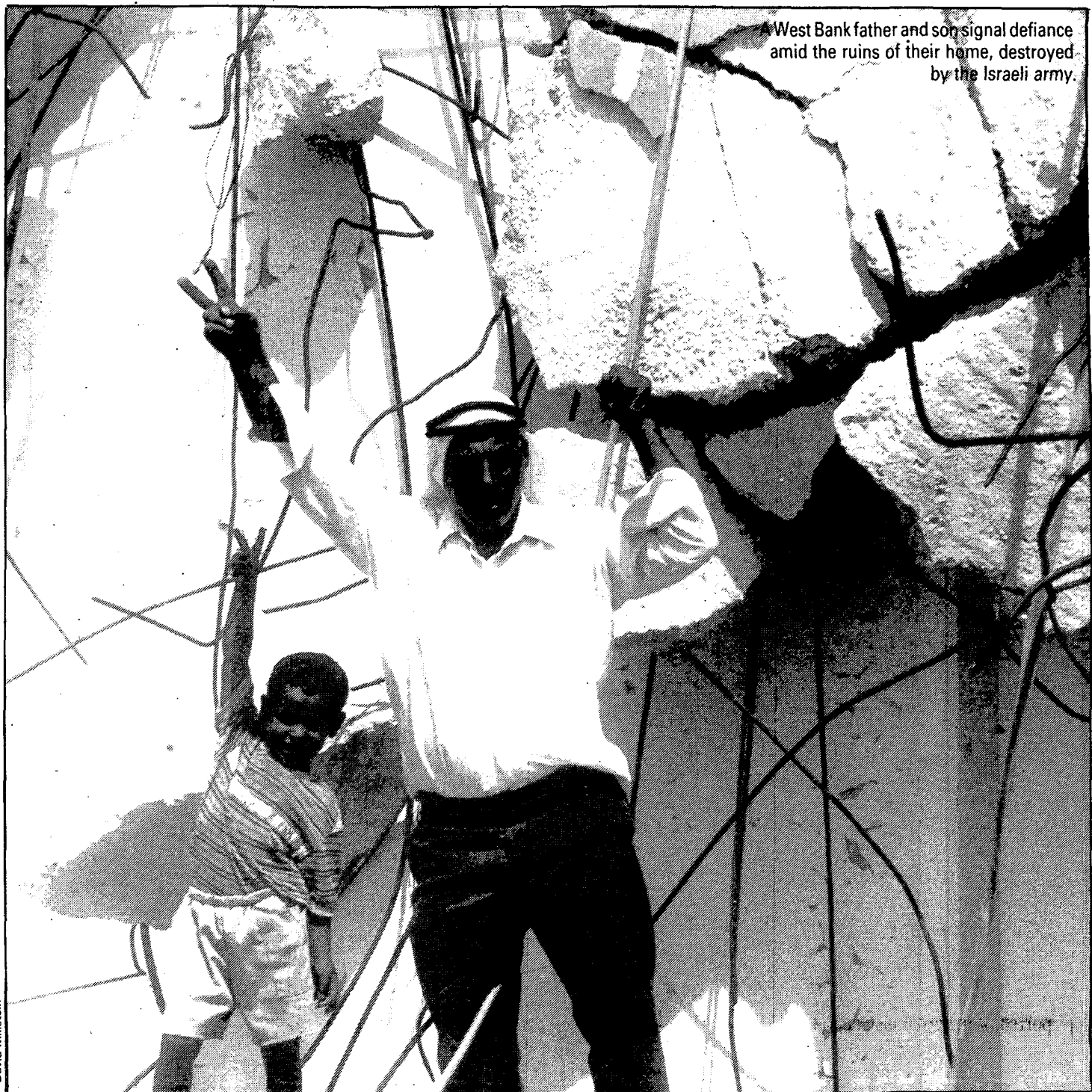
After eight days, residents were allowed three hours for shopping. On the 12th day the curfew was lifted. It was quickly reimposed when two teenage boys were arrested for the killing. Their family homes were soon dynamited. Because of the crowded quarters, another seven families in adjoining apartments lost their homes.

A rebel city: Resistance runs deep in Nablus. In 1936 the three-year Arab revolt against the British Mandate was launched here. After 1948 agitation against outside rule continued under Jordanian rule. It culminated just prior to the 1967 war in street battles against King Hussein's Bedouin troops, when 20 Nablus citizens were shot and 20 days of curfew were imposed.

These periodic revolts have been matched by intellectual ferment. The town's middle class produced several of the earliest Palestinian nationalist writers.

"No previous situation in Nablus history was like today's," says Ali al-Khalili, editor of the *Al-Fajr* newspaper literary supplement and a Nablus resident. He was twice imprisoned and tortured under Jordanian rule. "Hussein's Bedouin soldiers didn't expel us, blow up our houses and claim that Nablus doesn't belong to us, like Israeli soldiers do," he adds.

While anti-occupation sentiments are strong throughout the Occupied Territories,



© David Milstein



ex-Mayor Bassam Shaka notes, "Here there is a combination of concentrated population and deep national feeling" that intensifies the *intifada*.

With a population of 120,000, Nablus is the largest Palestinian city. The density in the crowded, crumbling *cashbah* has almost doubled in the past 20 years. Many large new homes have been built in peripheral neighborhoods. Although clashes with the Israeli army occur throughout the city, most happen in poorer quarters.

Nablus is home to a variety of political traditions. Before the Israeli occupation it was a center of activity for pro-Jordanian monarchists, Nasserists, the pan-Arab Ba'aath Party, the Moslem Brotherhood and the Communist Party. Except for the Brotherhood, these differences disappeared in the aftermath of the 1967 defeat, and a new, dis-

tinctly Palestinian politics took root. When Yassir Arafat motorcycled around the West Bank organizing Fatah guerrilla cells in 1967-68, he chose Nablus for his secret headquarters.

In 1976, Shaka was elected mayor in the last election held in the city. Military authorities, accustomed to pro-Jordanian traditionalists, viewed him as a radical with a penchant for confrontation. In 1980 a bomb planted by Jewish settlers exploded under his car and blew off Shaka's legs.

The next Nablus mayor, Zafer al-Masri, was assassinated in 1986 in front of his chamber of commerce offices five months after he accepted the job from the military government. Although al-Masri was a nationalist and strong Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) supporter, "By cooperating with Israel he broke our national unity—

so he was killed," says a 20-year-old engineering student.

Some Palestinians believe that the *intifada* has submerged class distinctions within a common cause. "All classes of Nablus support the *intifada*, whether by demonstrations, stones, street battles or strikes," says Shaka.

Another working-class resident says, "Every neighborhood, rich or poor, has its own job against the occupation."

The educated emigrate: Ali al-Khalili offers a warier analysis. "Class struggle in Nablus is unclear," he says "because there was substantial class mobility in the '50s and '60s. Education was how the middle class capitalized itself. The traditional rich families didn't pay as much attention to education and so declined economically." The younger generation today, he suggests, has become "de-

classed into the *intifada*."

Nablus has a good educational system. However, the local trading economy and small shop industries cannot support the professional class it has produced. Economic development in Nablus has been severely constricted by Israeli trade regulations designed to ensure that Palestinian industry remains non-competitive.

Because only about 10 percent of Nablus' secondary-school graduates can find jobs in the local economy, most look for employment in the Persian Gulf region and Jordan. Despite employment difficulties because of the oil price drop in the Gulf and the collapse of the dinar, Jordan's currency, educated young Nablus residents continue to emigrate. Annual emigration now stands at two-thirds the rate of natural increase, a trend that Israeli authorities attempt to encourage.

An-Najah, the largest Palestinian university, is located in Nablus. It has been closed by army order for almost two years to pre-

vent student demonstrations.

"We've sent the world enough Palestinians with doctorates," says Daoud, a former An-Najah student. "Of course we want the university to reopen, but there's a good side. Palestinians without a bachelor's degree have to stay home and fight."

He spoke while sitting beside the hospital bed of a friend, another An-Najah student who was shot in the throat during a village roadblock demonstration. "Hafez here has been in administrative detention twice since the school was shut," Daoud says proudly.

An-Najah's faculty has scattered. Some went to Jordan to teach; some have gone into local business; some are unemployed. "There's not much to do," shrugs Adnan, a mathematics professor. "Unemployed mathematicians read a lot of newspapers." Many faculty and students, however, participate in illegal private seminars.

Almost all West Bank and Gaza schools, from kindergartens up, are shut down, with

some 300,000 students kept out of classrooms. The current academic year has been written off, and many doubt the schools will open next year.

"We tutor our daughter at home," says one Nablus mother. "Some women who can teach invite a couple of neighbor children each morning, but it's not enough."

Residents have established "popular education" classes. Groups of mixed age students gather in a living room or a local building for instruction by teachers and university students. The army, which has banned these classes, frequently arrests teachers, who then face a stiff fine or jail. Schoolchildren are not immune, either.

"A group of children were walking with copybooks in hand toward class one morning," recalls Najoud, a university student. "An army patrol caught them just outside the building. The soldiers put them against the wall and began beating the children on their legs, asking, 'Where's the school?' Other chil-

dren ran in to tell the teachers, and we ran out the back way."

A sense of wariness and fear blankets Nablus. Three-man jeeps patrol the streets continuously, reinforced by troop vans with plexiglass sides. From their office windows above the streets, workers watch the army movements anxiously.

Their fear is real: Israeli soldiers regularly

Continued on page 22

Death on the West Bank: Signs of a 'hit'

Israeli forces in Nablus operate both overtly and covertly. The Shin Bet security service works in plain clothes and plays rough, routinely beating and torturing Palestinians to gain information about *intifada* activities.

The existence of a "hit squad," run jointly by the army and Shin Bet and said to be code-named "Cherry," was first alleged last October in the foreign media. Special anti-*intifada* units were operating in the West Bank and Gaza, it was reported, with verbal instructions to eliminate the uprising leadership. The Israeli army consistently denies the reports.

However, the deaths of several young Palestinian men have involved a pattern of multiple gunshot wounds and reports of soldiers in civilian clothes. Below is the story of one such case.

Nitham Abu-Hweileh was a 22-year-old resident of the Balata refugee camp, located within Nablus city limits. He was shot dead last August. Sometimes Nitham worked selling clothes at a Nablus shop; other times he worked as a laborer.

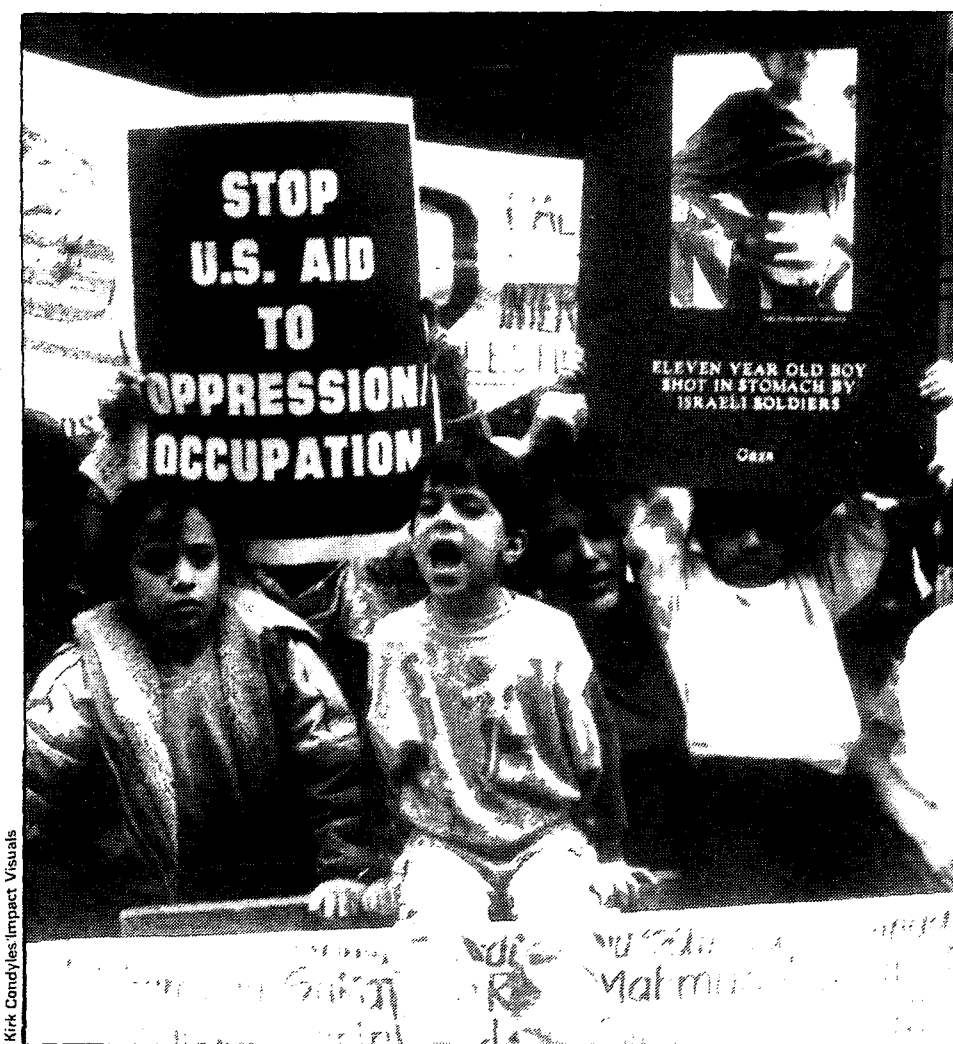
"He was active against the occupation, like all the young men," says his mother Nura. "He was in demonstrations."

Nitham's activity came to the notice of the security services, so he decided to go underground. His family says that Nitham floated between small jobs. Occasionally he visited his family.

Six months after he dropped from sight, 20 soldiers arrived at the family home with a threat. "They told us that they would blow up our house and arrest our sister unless he surrendered," says Nitham's younger brother, Abdallah.

It was no empty threat. Balata is littered with blown-up houses. So Nitham surrendered about a week later. According to the family, a security officer told him, "We don't want you as a prisoner; we want you dead." He was not arrested. The family thought the officer's words were "a bad joke," says another brother, Bassam.

Two days later, "there was a demonstration in progress in the early evening, about 6 p.m.," continues Bassam. "Soldiers came up the street toward our house yelling, 'Stop! Stop!' We ran away.



Kirk Candyles Impact Visuals

In the diaspora: Palestinians protest Israeli Prime Minister Shamir's recent visit to New York.

Nitham was wearing headphones, listening to music. He must not have heard them. The soldiers caught him."

Neighbors heard Nitham calling, "Mother, mother—help me!" At this point the soldiers apparently shot him six times in the legs with plastic bullets. "I saw him pulled into an army jeep. His legs were hurt," Nura recalls.

The next information came from a neighbor working in al-Itihad hospital. The army brought Nitham in with his leg wounds plus three more high-velocity bullet wounds in the left side, throat and head. After emergency treatment the army took Nitham away again.

Still alive, Nitham was dumped 50 meters from his house. "Come take this dog from the street," soldiers shouted before leaving, according to family members. While neighbors tried calling for an ambulance, his brothers hid Nitham in their uncle's home nearby.

Next to arrive on the scene was an Arabic-speaking Israeli soldiers wearing

civilian clothes and a *keffiyah* (Palestinian scarf). "He shook a kid standing on the corner. He wanted to know what had happened to Nitham," Bassam says. "The kid didn't answer, so the soldier took out a pistol and pointed it at him." Other soldiers in civilian clothes came running and searched the family house and neighbors' homes looking for Nitham or any wounded in hiding.

They left without finding anyone, and the ambulance came a short time later. Nitham was pronounced brain-dead shortly after arriving at Makassed Hospital in East Jerusalem, where he lingered for another 10 days in the intensive care unit. His mother exhibits snapshots of Nitham on his deathbed, covered with the Palestinian national flag.

When Nitham died in the early morning of August 27, his family quickly took his body for burial to prevent an Israeli army autopsy.

Says Bassam Abu-Hweileh simply, "We lost Nitham for our freedom." —J.L.

An ITT interview with Bassam Shaka, former Nablus mayor

A central element of the proposals Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir carried to his Washington meetings was for new West Bank and Gaza municipal elections to create an alternative to Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leadership. The Israeli government categorically refuses to deal with the PLO. Palestinians universally view the idea as a non-starter without PLO participation.

In an interview with *In These Times*, Nablus ex-Mayor Bassam Shaka discussed local government in the Occupied Territories and the 1986 assassination of Israeli-appointed Mayor Zafer al-Masri.

Why did Zafer al-Masri agree to take on the job of mayor under Israel's civil administration?

When al-Masri accepted, he took a view opposite that of many of us. He asked me many times about the matter. I told him that I couldn't advise accepting a position which I myself had refused. It is a matter of honesty with myself and others. The civil administration was and is simply a tool against our unity and national self-determination.

Why was al-Masri killed? Because he violated this sense of national unity?

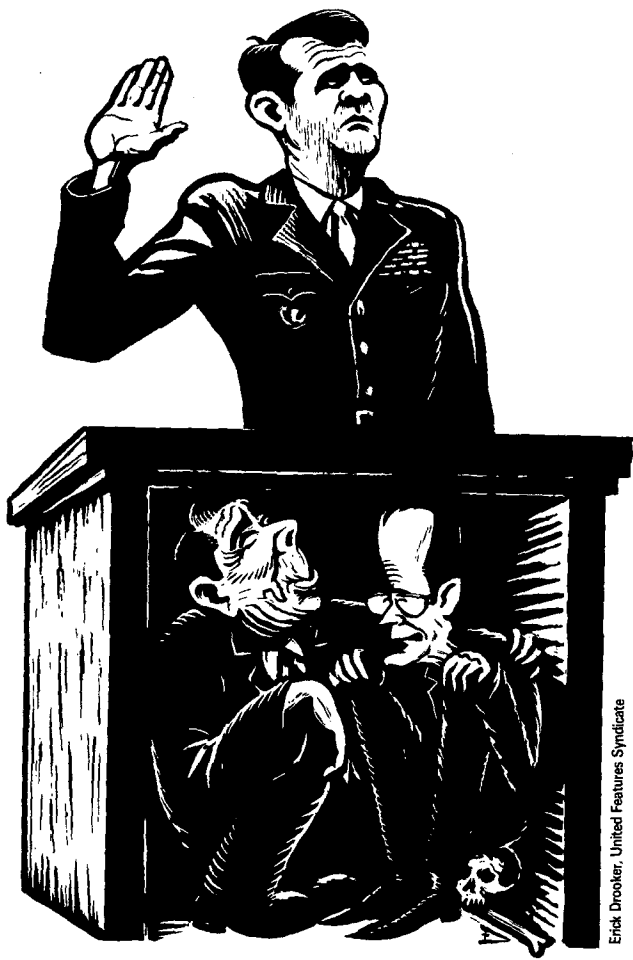
It's not entirely clear why.... [There are local discussions] of whether it is the better choice to let Israelis administer the municipalities or to have a Palestinian do the job better than the Israelis. At that time one could not say that public opinion was entirely against al-Masri, because people were very worried about the conditions of daily life. People were following their daily interests as much as their political interests. But what happened proved that there is no difference between the two. A "non-political" administration tried to split the two and failed.

What you're also saying is that it is very unlikely that anybody will take that position again from the civil administration. There will be no mayor, no council and no local government without a Palestinian state.

That's right, until there is a state. No one can accept any responsibility for local government until the occupation ends.

This is a very different situation than the one under which you were elected mayor in 1976.

The *intifada* has connected the present with 1976. In 1982 the Israelis tried to deport me and did deport other Palestinian mayors, then tried to establish the civil administration by force. The *intifada* cuts across the period between 1982 and December 1987, during which time Israel attempted to stop local self-determination and national rights. Palestinians never accepted that, and they exploded. The *intifada* has been the most democratic period of Palestinian history. —J.L.



Once Reagan's top dog, North is now a 'fall guy' biting his master's hand

To both Ronald Reagan and George Bush, Oliver North was a true patriot and hero. He earned that status by violating an act of Congress signed into law by President Reagan—without, we were told, the president's or vice president's knowledge. At the 1987 congressional hearings into the contragate affair, North said he believed he was carrying out Reagan's wishes but the president did not know exactly what it was North had been doing. This fantasy was endorsed by the report of the Tower Omission, which concluded that Reagan was disengaged from, and ignorant of, North's violations of the Boland Amendment—and which did not even mention Tower's friend, George Bush.

Now that he is on trial for various criminal acts, North is singing a different tune. In testimony and documents at his trial, North is arguing that he was merely carrying out Reagan's orders. Under the Boland Amendment, the administration was permitted to solicit "humanitarian" aid for the contras from third countries, but not to subsidize those countries in exchange for their help to the contras. But documents at the trial show that Reagan did just that—while the Boland Amendment was in effect—in February and April of 1985. And other documents strongly imply that Bush acted as a "discreet emissary" in a successful attempt to induce Honduras to help arm the contras.

All along, of course, Bush has insisted he was "out of the loop," and despite much circumstantial evidence to the contrary, the commercial media has given him a free ride. Now, however, the cat is out of the bag. Let's see if the owners of our free press continue to make believe it doesn't exist.

Bush's S&L cleanup plan would make us pay twice

Like the environmental crisis caused by the *Exxon Valdez* oil spill, the savings and loan crisis is the result of government deregulation. The Reagan-Bush idea that business knows best, and that if corporations are left to their own devices the public will best be served, turns out to be simply a means for the wealthy to feather their nests and the public be damned. Despite Secretary of the Interior Manuel Lujan's rhetoric about Exxon having to assume all the costs of the cleanup, the public is paying double. Not only are the armed forces now mobilized to do the work that Exxon assured us it could do, but the company is also gouging us at the gas pump through exorbitant price increases. The spill may have been a public relations disaster for Exxon, but it is turning the spill to its own benefit on the bottom line—which is what Exxon is all about.

The savings and loan industry's despoilation of the public has been equally reckless and threatens in the end to cost the public even more than the *Exxon Valdez* incident. But whether it does will be determined by the nature of congressional legislation on how to deal with mounting S&L failures.

Originally, savings and loan institutions were associations of small savers who pooled their money to help each other buy homes. The number of savings and loans grew more or less steadily from the latter part of the 19th century until the Great Depression of the '30s. Then the Federal Home Loan Bank Board (FHLBB), a system of 12 regional banks, was established on the model of the Federal Reserve System. And the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation was set up as an agency of the FHLBB to insure deposits. From the Depression until the late '70s, the system worked reasonably well, although gradually S&Ls came closer and closer to resembling banks. High interest rates in the '70s caused a crisis for the industry, because S&Ls were forced to pay higher rates to their depositors than they were earning on mortgages.

But it was deregulation, begun with the Depository Institutions Deregulation and Monetary Control Act in 1980 and culminating with the Garn-St. Germain Act in 1982, that created the worst of the current crisis. The Garn-St. Germain Act granted S&Ls the power to make a variety of non-housing investments, even though S&L operators had little or no familiarity with sound investment policies. So, for example, S&Ls became one of the heaviest institutional in-

vestors in "junk bonds" for corporate takeovers. By the mid-'80s large numbers of thrifts were hemorrhaging funds due to bad investments.

In addition, most S&L failures have involved misconduct on the part of officers and directors. The General Accounting Office, the investigative wing of Congress, last month went so far as to call white-collar crime the main cause of the crisis. Regulators have reported that crime was a factor in 70 percent of insolvent institutions. All of this has been made possible by lax regulation. According to the FHLBB's chief economist from 1983-86, industry influence over regulators in the '80s led to "the selection of regulatory approaches that have favored the short-term interests of existing thrift institutions at the expense of consumers and financial services, society in general, and even the long-term interests of stockholders and employees of those thrift institutions that will ultimately survive."

The cost of cleaning up this government-aided mess will be enormous, because the federal government has an obligation to protect insured deposits. But President Bush's plan to solve the crisis is complex and cumbersome. And while feigning frugality, Bush's plan would be unnecessarily costly to low- and middle-income working people. Bush's main goal has been to disguise the full extent of the cleanup. Both the proposed 30-year bailout and the quasi-public recapitalization bonds will involve billions of dollars in interest payments to banks and other bondholders above and beyond the money needed. This and Bush's proposed increases in deposit insurance premiums guarantee that S&L depositors will bear the cost unfairly. In other words, S&L owners and operators created the mess, but the president is proposing that the victims pay to clean it up.

What to do: To make the best of a bad situation, the Treasury should issue bonds to fund the bailout, which would allow lower interest rates and provide other savings to the public. But such a move would run up against the budget ceilings imposed by the Gramm-Rudman balanced budget law. That obstacle can be surmounted, however, by a congressional suspension of Gramm-Rudman for the purpose of the cleanup. Further, the cleanup should be paid for, in the form of added income taxes, by those who benefited from deregulation—financial institutions and the wealthy, as well as corporations that continue to avoid paying their fair share of taxes. These taxes on the speculative excesses of the '80s should be earmarked for payment of interest on bonds for the S&L cleanup.

In short, it's time for working people to stop paying twice for the socially irresponsible greed of our corporate rulers. The least we can do now is force those who made the mess to pay for it.

IN THESE TIMES

"...with liberty and justice for all"

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LETTERS

Save a man and a symbol

IN BUCHAREST, ROMANIA, UNDER ORDERS OR TACIT connivance of President Nicolae Ceausescu, an innocent man faces possible execution on phony charges of treason. He is Mircea Raceanu, whose father is one of five senior Communist leaders—including two former members of the Politburo—who sent President Ceausescu a three-page letter strongly urging him to stop oppressing his people. The letter was sent in mid-January. On January 31, Mircea Raceanu was arrested. The Associated Press, in reporting the event, identified the younger Raceanu as a senior diplomat, deputy head of the U.S. desk in the Foreign Ministry. It also quoted TANJUG, the official Yugoslav news agency, as tying the arrest to the letter. The vindictive action is a clear attempt to intimidate the six signers for their support of Gorbachov's liberal reforms. Unwittingly, Mircea Raceanu has become a symbol of the struggle for renewal in the socialist world.

One of the signers is an old friend of mine from 1960, Professor Silviu Brucan. Brucan was in the anti-Nazi underground with Ceausescu and was Romanian ambassador to the U.S. (1956-59) and to the U.N. (1959-62). He then was head of state TV for four years and has been professor of international relations at the University of Bucharest since 1966. He has traveled widely in the East and West and has been visiting professor or lecturer at Dartmouth College and other American universities. He has written several important books. A dedicated Communist, he is not an ideological fanatic.

He has always pursued a conciliatory but realistic policy toward the West, which was official Romanian foreign policy in the '60s and '70s. In domestic matters as well Romania was less rigid than its neighbors: a freer atmosphere and few, if any, political prisoners. For several years I wrote a column for the newspaper *Romania Libera*.

But recently less rigid Communists were forced out of the Politburo and shunted away from important positions. A kind of megalomania has affected the president. A huge foreign debt was incurred for grandiose projects, wages were cut, consumers suffered.

The climax of the austerity was a major strike during which workers rioted in the city of Brasov in November 1987 and the army was called in to put them down. Brucan could remain silent no longer. He protested publicly to foreign correspondents and was placed under house arrest.

Brucan fought back in confrontations with old colleagues. After several months of harassment he was allowed to leave for the U.S., where he had long-standing commitments to teach and lecture. As he said when we met in New York, the authorities figured he'd be less of a problem outside the country.

Meanwhile, a most dangerous foreign policy has emerged. As part of its draconian plan to raze 7,000 villages and consolidate the rural population in high-rise industrial ghettos, the Ceausescu regime is also eliminating the intermixed Hungarian community in Transylvania. This plan is not only arbitrary and inhumane, but it undermines Gorbachov's reforms and is a provo-

cation to Hungary and the cohesion of the Warsaw Pact.

The letter to Ceausescu by the six veteran Communists was designed to strengthen internal opposition to the plan. The six are Gheorghe Apostol, former member of the Politburo and head of trade unions; Alexander Birladeanu, former member of the Politburo and chairman of the planning committee; Cornel Manescu, former minister of foreign affairs and president of the U.N. General Assembly; Constantin Privulescu, founding member of the Communist Party; Ion Raceanu, whose son is held hostage; and Professor Silviu Brucan.

As individuals and as members of organizations and institutions, we should do our utmost to send messages to the Politburo of the Romanian Communist Party in Bucharest asking for a halt to the Transylvania plan and for justice for Mircea Raceanu.

Carl Marzani
New York

Saving the Black Hills

IN THESE TIMES' JANUARY 18 ISSUE CONTAINED AN article on New Jersey Democratic Sen. Bill Bradley's Sioux Nation Black Hills Bill, also called the "Bradley Bill." The bill aims to put control of western South Dakota, including the Black Hills, into the hands of the various Sioux tribal governments.

In that article writer Paul Little claimed that "highly profitable economic exploitation of the Black Hills is the bottom line when it comes to non-Indian opposition to the Bradley Bill."

I must strenuously object to this characterization. I'm non-Indian, and I oppose the Bradley Bill. But I have worked hard personally and through environmental organizations to prevent the desecration of these small and vulnerable hills.

As a conservation co-chair of the Sierra Club's Black Hills Group, it was my task last year to research this legislation and its environmental consequences. The group took a stand against the Bradley Bill for a number of reasons, seeing further deterioration of the Black Hills if this bill is enacted.

This should really be no surprise. The tribal governments want economic development very much and regard the Black Hills as a tool to achieve it. (In fact, economic development is the first goal stated in the Bradley Bill.) An example: the bill's proponents repeatedly claim that the legislation will protect the Black Hills from new mining operations in the future. The text is cleverly worded to convey that impression, but the prohibition applies only to a certain class of minerals, none of which can be

found in the hills.

Bradley Bill proponents claim their first concern is the land, asserting that the Black Hills are sacred to the Sioux and that money is an unacceptable trade. However, where politics are involved, Bradley Bill proponents are a lot more willing to use the Black Hills to gain political leverage. Thousands of acres of Black Hills land have been dropped from claims made under the Bradley Bill for the simple reason that they are in Wyoming and not South Dakota. The Wyoming part of the Black Hills was quickly dealt away in order to prevent one more congressional delegation from becoming active in opposition to the bill. (In fact, the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 involved parts of five states, but proponents have pared the other states' land from this legislation so as to politically isolate one state and its three-person congressional delegation.) This cynical strategy may show lots of political savvy, but it destroys the philosophical honesty of the bill. Are the Black Hills sacred or not?

The tribes have more than \$200 million in the bank (their 1980 court judgment on Black Hills claims, plus accrued interest), and they say they want to protect the Black Hills. Meanwhile, the environmental groups in the area struggle on with their volunteer efforts, only able to dream about all the land they could protect if they had such a resource at hand.

Thousands of acres of Black Hills land have come under development since 1980. With the funds at their disposal, the tribal governments could have done something about it when local environmental groups could not. They chose not to. They continue to choose not to, because protecting the land is not their main objective. While there is much rhetoric about the sacredness of the Black Hills, it is toward land ownership, and not land protection, that the tribal governments and Bradley have dedicated themselves.

Steve Paulson
Rapid City, S.D.

Invasion of the body breeders

IT MUST BE WONDERFUL BUT A BIT BORING TO have all the answers immediately, the way Alexander Cockburn does. Very simple for old Alex, as he automatically rules that any one who is against unlimited immigration must be a born hater of all aliens. According to Cockburn (*ITT*, March 29), we who want immigration restricted to only the legal care nothing about the poor folk stuck in El Salvador and persecuted.

However, there's a lot more to it than "we

vs. they." Uncontrolled immigration doesn't help either country in the long run. If we did not have to spend billions trying to educate the non-English-speaking and police their crimes, we could spend more in trying to help them improve their own countries.

First, we must stop illegal entries, both persons and contraband. At the same time we should stop giving aid to any country that refuses to treat its citizens in a humane and democratic manner.

The basic problem is population control for all countries. Letting millions push into our country illegally only encourages them to reproduce more to increase their income. It may sound alarmist, but we must stop them while we still have the capability.

William M. Wilkerson
Florida City, Fla.

God is dead, part 2

CONGRATULATIONS ON PUBLISHING THE REVOLUTIONARY socialist and Catholic communist's letter (Letters, March 22).

Left Christians have this problem: there is no God; his/her/its existence cannot be shown or credibly believed. If I had space I could easily show that if God existed, it would be unimportant because there is no difference between having one (or more) and having none.

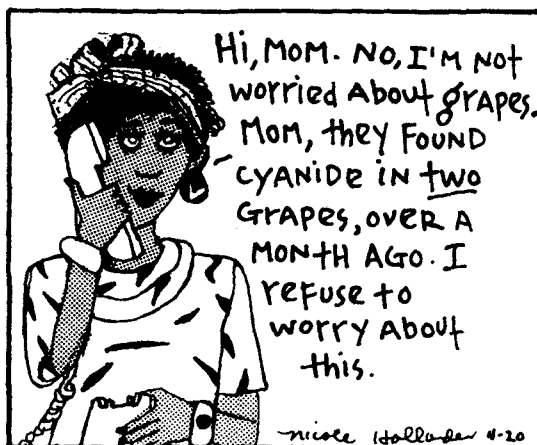
There is no God, there is no heaven (of course), no soul and no afterlife. People are just here for the nonce, with no externally imposed purpose. This is crucial for the abortion question, because the fundamental reason Catholics have been so fierce about abortion since the 19th century (not before) is their belief that since there is a God, a heaven and an afterlife, it is incumbent to crowd as many souls (which they think of as people) into the magical space already reserved.

The premises of the anti-abortionists are false. Rather, we need much more abortion to supplement any birth control methods in use. Why? Overcrowding. We now have about 5 billion people on the Earth, far too many. Mostly they are just crowding up the place pointlessly, wrecking it for all time. It cannot be shown that we are better off today than a few years back when we had half as many huddled onto the surface of the ball.

Secular leftists have been prone to forget in recent years how much danger lurks in the irrationality of religion. The left Christians fighting the Latino Nazis have clouded their vision. Let them not forget Iran, Israel, the American South, Georgetown, Notre Dame and other concentrations of irrationalism, religion and right-wing evil.

Dennis K. McDaniel
Washington, D.C.

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander

By Hillel Schenker

THIS WAS, BY FAR, THE VERY BEST, THE most frank, the most direct, concerned and empathetic of the recent Israeli-PLO encounters," said Nabil Sha'ath, chairman of the Palestine National Council's (PNC) political committee and a senior political adviser to Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Chairman Yassir Arafat. "Thank you," said Mapam Party Knesset faction leader Yair Tzaban, a member of the Knesset's Security and Foreign Affairs Committee, "for being a part of history and helping us to make history." The two were speaking at Columbia University's School for International Affairs, where "The Road to Peace" conference was held three weeks ago.

Initiated by the Tel Aviv-based Israeli journal *New Outlook* and the East Jerusalem-based Palestinian newspaper *Al-Fajr* in association with the American Friends of Peace Now and the American Council for Palestine Affairs, the meeting was the first ever co-sponsored and co-organized by Israeli and Palestinian institutions. It was also the first time that members of the Knesset and members of the PNC, the parliaments of the two peoples, ever met publicly in the U.S.

The Israeli delegation included four Knesset members; four former Knesset members; five reserve generals; and prominent academics, writers and peace activists. The Palestinian delegation included three senior PLO officials from Europe and the Mideast, prominent representatives of the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip and leading members of the Palestinian community in the U.S. All participants accepted three basic principles in the call to the conference issued by the *New Outlook* and *Al-Fajr* editors. They agreed that the occupation must end, that a solution must be based upon the mutually recognized right of both the Israelis and Palestinians to national self-determination, and that negotiations for peace must occur between the Israeli government and the PLO.

"But was anything really achieved?" I was asked a week later, on the eve of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's visit to the American capital. Well, something of interest and probably of value must be happening if an event is given prominent and friendly coverage by such diverse publications as the *New York Times*, the *Washington Jewish Times* and *The Nation*—and makes front-page news in Israel. Sometimes an event's success can be gauged by the people it upsets. Malcolm Hoenlein, executive director of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations called one conference organizer and told him he was creating problems for Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens, who was visiting Washington at the same time. Actor Ed Asner, who appeared at a conference cultural evening with a warm and humorous monologue, was told by representatives of the United Jewish Appeal that his services were no longer required to narrate a film on the plight of Soviet Jewry.

Another measure of success was the fact that unresolved points of contention between the Israelis and the Palestinians did not undermine the fundamental points of agreement. Among these problems are the question of the Palestinian right of return, the question of elections in the Occupied

Israelis and Palestinians start to talk it out in historic N.Y. meeting

Territories and questions of mutual suspicion and trust.

Trying to get home: For the Palestinians, the right of return refers to the need to find an adequate answer to the needs of the Palestinian refugees from the wars of 1948 and 1967 who are living in refugee camps throughout the Mideast and scattered in the far corners of the Palestinian diaspora. Palestinians, with complete justification in my view, are very upset whenever Israeli government officials and their supporters in the U.S. try to separate the problem of the West Bank and Gaza Palestinians from the fate of the rest of the Palestinian nation. Any solution must take into account the needs of the entire Palestinian nation. It is also an illusion to believe that Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza will allow themselves to be separated from the rest of the Palestinian nation.

At the same time, Palestinian advocates of the unlimited right of return, including to the cities of Haifa and Jaffa and other communities within the borders of the state of Israel, upset virtually all Israelis. As Knesset member Yossi Sarid, of the Citizens Rights Movement, said, "Neither Shamir nor Sarid" can accept such a definition of the Palestinian right of return. The Israeli consensus, from right to left, is that the clock can't be turned back. Advocates of an unlimited Palestinian right of return are raising the specter, in the eyes of most Israelis, of a Palestinian West Bank-Gaza state as only a first step toward the old dream—mentioned by one of the Palestinian participants at the conference, Professor Hatam Hussein—of a democratic secular state.

Sha'ath made an important contribution to a formula acceptable to both sides. The PLO has decided that "the two-stage theory is over," he said. Instead, at three major appearances and the concluding press conference, he stressed a "two-state solution" as the bottom line of PLO policy. He added that "the state of Israel will remain predominantly Jewish, though it will contain a Palestinian minority, while the Palestinian state will be predominantly Palestinian, while it will contain a Jewish minority."

Professor Rashid Khalidi, head of the Middle East Center at the University of Chicago, observed that Israelis should not ignore the needs of the entire Palestinian nation, but that, in reality, virtually all of the 1.5 million Palestinians living in Jordan would probably remain there, the 700,000 Palestinians living within the state of Israel would remain citizens of that state, and most of the remaining Palestinian refugees who would want to return to the homeland would return to the Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. He emphasized that it was the principle of the right of return that was important to Palestinians. The practicalities could be worked out in negotiations, and this would include the right of a certain percentage of Palestinians to return to the state of Israel, while the rest would receive compensation that could be financed jointly by Israeli, Arab and international entities.

A proposal for Palestinian elections in the Occupied Territories was the centerpiece of Israeli Prime Minister Shamir's

cent "moderate stance" in his talks with the Bush administration. While the proposal does not signify a change in Shamir's adamant opposition to talks with the PLO, it reflects the fact that he felt compelled to demonstrate his readiness for concessions and for new ideas about the peace process. The initial PLO response to Shamir's proposal was a qualified rejection. Official representatives declared that elections could be held only if they were clearly part of a process that could lead to the end of the occupation and the establishment of a Palestinian state, if they were "free elections" under U.N. supervision, without the presence of Israeli soldiers, and if their purpose was not to seek an alternative to negotiations with the PLO. Israeli participants at the conference, who would prefer to see immediate Israeli-PLO negotiations, realize that Shamir is not ready for that. They argued that the PLO should seriously consider support for elections as a realistic interim step on the road toward self-determination.

Dancing to different beats: An uproar at the cultural evening reflected some of the basic problems of suspicion and trust that still exist between the two peoples. A Palestinian singer, Laila Shaheen, concluded her set with a rendition of "*Biladi, Biladi*" ("My Homeland, My Homeland"), which has become an unofficial Palestinian anthem.

"Why didn't they sing songs for peace and a two-state solution, in the spirit of the conference?" asked one Israeli. The answer, of course, is that no such songs exist.

There was another basic lack of balance at the conference. The Palestinians represented the large majority of their people. Only a small minority support the Syrian-sponsored anti-PLO rejectionist organizations (such as the Abu Nidal group, the Ahmal Jibril group and the Abu Musa group). And another minority, belonging to George Habash's Palestinian Front for the Liberation of Palestine, has remained a loyal opposition within the organized PLO.

The Israelis present, Knesset members from the left-Zionist Citizens Rights and Mapam parties, Labor Party doves, members from the centrist Shinui-Liberal Center Party and the Progressive List for Peace, together with independents, represent—at best—25 percent of Israeli society. However, three recent polls indicate that they were speaking on behalf of the majority of Israeli public opinion. In a poll commissioned by the Israeli mass-circulation daily *Yediot Achronot*, 54 percent of the Israeli Jewish population supports talks with the PLO—and when kibbutz members and Israeli Arab citizens (not included in such polls for technical reasons) are added to the figure, the number jumps to the 70-75 percent range.

Additional support for this position was provided by the recent report from Israeli military intelligence that concluded that only a political, not a military, solution can end the *intifada*, and that the only route to meaningful political negotiations is via talks with the PLO. Further reinforcement came from a study published by the Jaffee Institution of Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv Univer-

sity, Israel's major think tank, that concluded that a Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip was the best of six basic options from an Israeli security point of view.

Palestinians at the conference were upset when Knesset member Tzaban stressed that of the 54 percent of the Jewish Israelis who call for eventual Israeli talks with the PLO, only 17 percent believe that the PLO actually recognized the state of Israel's right to exist and renounced terrorism. The logical conclusion of these findings is that the PLO has to do more to convince Israelis and their overseas supporters that the new policy is genuine.

This includes a clear condemnation of terrorist actions attempted by dissident Palestinian factions. In this context, Arafat's credibility has been helped by recent pronouncements by two senior Israeli military authorities. Chief of Staff Gen. Dan Shomron told the government, much to Shamir's chagrin, that since the PLO announced its new policy in November, not only have there been no terrorist attempts by Arafat's mainstream *Fatah* component of the PLO, there is even no evidence of any planning for terrorist activity. This evaluation was confirmed by Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin in response to a question in the Knesset.

And then there is Washington: The Bush-Baker administration is slowly unveiling its Mideast policy. The successive visits of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, Israeli Prime Minister Shamir and Jordanian King Hussein left it no choice. As Arens and Shamir soon discovered, the Bush-Baker Washington is not quite as warm and friendly as the Reagan-Haig-Shultz Washington. Of course, this is not due only to the change in administration. The emergence of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachov, the *intifada* and the new PLO policies also have something to do with it.

From the perspective of the Israeli peace movement, Bush and Baker have done some interesting things. First, they are maintaining and apparently expanding the U.S. dialogue, an important component in the quest for Mideast peace. A parallel U.S.-PLO, U.S.-Israeli dialogue can provide great services in helping to bring the two sides to the negotiating table. Second, Bush greeted Shamir with the announcement that an end to the occupation was a cornerstone of American Mideast policy, an important message for the Israeli prime minister to digest. And finally, Baker stressed two important American differences with the Shamir-Arens position. The American administration is not ready to accept Israeli interim proposals that don't indicate the possibility of ending the occupation and achieving Palestinian national self-determination. Baker also emphasized that the possibility of eventual Israeli-PLO negotiations should not be ruled out.

What is needed now in the U.S. is strong grass-roots support in both the Jewish and general American communities for a negotiated political solution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, based upon the mutual right to self-determination. Congress and the administration should feel confident that they have a mandate from the American public to advocate these positions.

Hillel Schenker, senior editor of *New Outlook* in Tel Aviv, is currently in New York serving as U.S. representative of *New Outlook*.

By Moshe Lewin

Change has been the rule in the Soviet Union's history

PERESTROIKA IS A MONUMENTAL PHENOMENON, but one that remains generally misunderstood by those who ascribe it primarily to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachov's personal brilliance. Such observers seem to believe that *perestroika*'s fate and Gorbachov's are one and the same. Yet without distracting from Gorbachov's contribution, we must look to historical developments, both in the Soviet Union and the rest of the world, to understand the nature of *perestroika* and its staying power.

Discussion about the nature of Soviet society in this country has traditionally been dominated by the view that the Communist system is essentially immobile. Changes have been seen mainly as matters of form, masking the underlying reality of a one-party state with a frozen ideology. But this view is incorrect, even with regard to the nature of the party—which is what has inspired such attitudes. A more realistic picture reveals a broad social system in which many features have changed as Soviet society has evolved. Moreover, each time key features of the general society have changed, politics, ideology and patterns of rule have, sooner or later, also changed. To understand *perestroika* one must understand the stages of Soviet history, including the current one.

Prerevolutionary Russia's heritage has played an important role, both positive and negative, ever since the revolution of 1917. The imbalances and structural contradictions that plagued czarist Russia and caused the old regime to crumble were not removed by the revolution. Indeed, even though the new bolshevik power introduced many novelties, the old ways and influences went on plaguing Lenin. The new revolutionary polity was novel in many ways, but it was not entirely the product of Lenin's leadership or ideology. He helped unleash streams of events but was himself the product of processes and a historical milieu that could not be fully overcome, despite his intentions and those of his party.

First there was the civil war, which lasted until 1921. Devastating battles between the "whites" and the "reds," and actions undertaken by the reds produced a new kind of state system. Yet independent activities of the peasants defined the parameters of reality in ways no one expected and determined events just as profoundly as Lenin's government. One result was the short-lived New Economic Policy (NEP) and its considerable concessions to the peasantry. Granted so that the regime might survive, NEP exhibited the regime's ability to operate deep strategic turnabouts and—also quite unexpectedly—produced a model that has inspired new approaches and strategic revisions six decades later.

Forced industrialization: Similarly, while Stalin's "leap forward," which eliminated the NEP in the late '20s, was deeply marked by the leader's personal imprint, the policies of the period—their social effects and impact on the future—cannot be explained by Stalin's action alone. The interplay of many factors were necessary for a personal dictatorship like Stalin's to emerge.

In turn, the hectic development that took place under Stalin's aegis nurtured its own gravediggers and made "Stalinism" ana-

chronistic, inadequate for the tasks at hand even at its own apogee. The "gravediggers" were none other than the bureaucracy created by Stalin, which kept growing from 1924 to 1953. Too recent a creation, too insecure and inexperienced to cope with the terroristic rule of which it was the main target, the bureaucracy nevertheless found Stalin's whimsical and terroristic dictatorship inimical to the task of running a modern industrial system. And once Stalin was out of the way, "an administrative system,"

The Soviet Union is a social system steadily evolving. As key features have changed, so too have politics, ideology and patterns of rule. To understand *perestroika*, one must know this history.

as Soviet reformers call it, took over, gave whatever it could, exhausted its useful role and brought the country to stagnation—*zastoi*, to use a very popular Soviet term.

Meanwhile, a third stage—an adumbration of things to come—was brewing hectically during these years. The emerging urban society, confused and disoriented by the speedy transitions of rapid industrialization, put powerful factors to work that have rendered the "administrative system" obsolete. During the last 30 years a nation that was predominantly rural and peasant all through its history, notably under Stalin, has become predominantly urban. Without exaggeration, the Soviet Union is a new society, immensely more complex than the previous, predominantly rural one, and therefore a very different object for the state to rule.

Another stage: The USSR is in a new stage of its history, and the institutional state formed when the tasks were daunting but simpler is under steadily growing pressure to respond to the needs of the new

era. Urban development has created new forms of social life and personal relations, new cultural needs, complicated communication and information flows, a highly differentiated workforce and a craving for the rights and freedoms indispensable to the functioning of a modern society.

This has been true for some time, but the country's leaders were unable to acknowledge these powerful transformations and adjust to them. Instead, both party and state simply became obsolete, while under the surface of official censorship and control, cultures and subcultures sprang up spontaneously. During the years of *zastoi*, political, philosophical and artistic undercurrents made their appearance, especially among the intelligentsia. Unstoppable manifestations of public opinion began to play an ever more important role in pressuring government and party agencies and in the general life of the country. A "civil society"—a phenomenon taken for granted in the West but virtually non-existent in the Soviet Union—gradually emerged. This composite of group and class activities, expressions of ideas and opinions, was no longer submissive to state "guidance" or tutelage.

In the face of this swelling tide, the party lost its grip over people and events. Yet it went on governing without public support and against public opinion until a new leader—Mikhail Gorbachov—finally declared the system obsolete and issued a call to scrap it. Then, when *glasnost* gave them a chance, all the pent-up feelings and suppressed needs burst into the open with explosive force.

In the face of this history and the fact that everything in Soviet society is changing—economic policies, culture, information, freedom of speech, foreign policy and even party leadership—some Soviet "experts" see only a chiaroscuro picture in which nothing is really new. Yet there is no sphere of life, including the economy, no institution, including the Communist Party, that is not already engaged in or just beginning to undergo reforms. Some say that this is like Nikita Khrushchov's reforms in the early '60s, but there is no comparison with

those reforms, which failed because—today's leaders say—they were not far-reaching enough.

Institutional stability: Despite continuous change and a complex situation, the Soviet Union still has a strong and capable government. It would be a mistake to see it as crumbling, just as it would be to make facile predictions concerning the precise shape of things to come. The character of political and other institutions, the model of the economy, the character of leadership depend on an interplay of many complicated factors. No master plan exists and none can be devised or imposed. The outcome cannot be foretold because there are programs and intentions facing other programs and intentions. Different segments of the population have different mentalities and orientations, and they will have their say in the outcome of the next decade.

Behind the events, though, is a stage of a socially new, urban Soviet Union, straight-jacketed by obsolete institutions and engaged in redrawing them. Everything is under pressure and being questioned, including the official ideology, and it goes without saying that the powerful, the privileged and the hangers-on and dupes of the previous regime resist as best they can. There also is turmoil, although thus far much less than one might have expected after the heavy lid of previous constraints was lifted. In different circumstances, much of this turmoil would be seen as a manifestation of a normal and popular political process. And in this sense much of it is not an illness, but a cure that accelerates the renovation of the system.

The situation is far from simple. There is so much ahead that is unknown, so many potential pitfalls and even ominous premonitions, that setbacks, maybe a change of leadership and of some programs cannot be ruled out. The widespread, dramatic national debate in which Soviet citizens are engaged results from and testifies to the complexities and the many unknowns. Yet, if not in its precise shape, then in substance *perestroika* is real, even if only beginning. And Russia is not just moving, it is moving rapidly.

Moshe Lewin is the author of several books on the Russian Revolution and Soviet history. He is currently in Moscow doing research.

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The Price of Empire

By J. William Fulbright
with Seth P. Tillman
Pantheon Books, 243 pp., \$17.95

By Marshall Windmiller

AS IN AN EARLIER BOOK, FORMER Arkansas Sen. J. William Fulbright reminds us that in foreign relations there are really two Americas. One is generous, humane, self-critical, good-humored and judicious. The other is narrowly egotistical, self-righteous, pontificating and arrogant. These two Americas compete for control of U.S. foreign policy, alternating in dominance.

In this book—part memoir, part polemic, part apologia—it is apparent that there are also two William Fulbrights. One is a scholar and teacher, the other a politician. One seeks to find the truth, understand and analyze it, and then educate the public. The other makes compromises in order not to be cast out of the club, compromises that both Fulbrights later regret.

There has always been a tension between the two. At times the politician dominated. Now, in his 80s and with the levers of power no longer within grasp, the scholar is clearly in control. He tells why the politician did what he did and what he now thinks of it. He is frank about his mistakes and regrets their consequences.

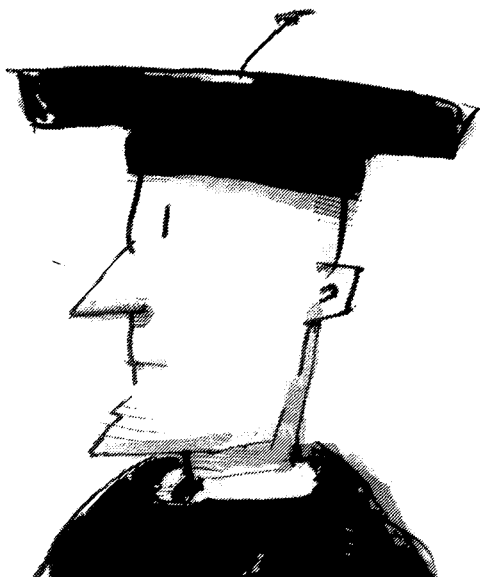
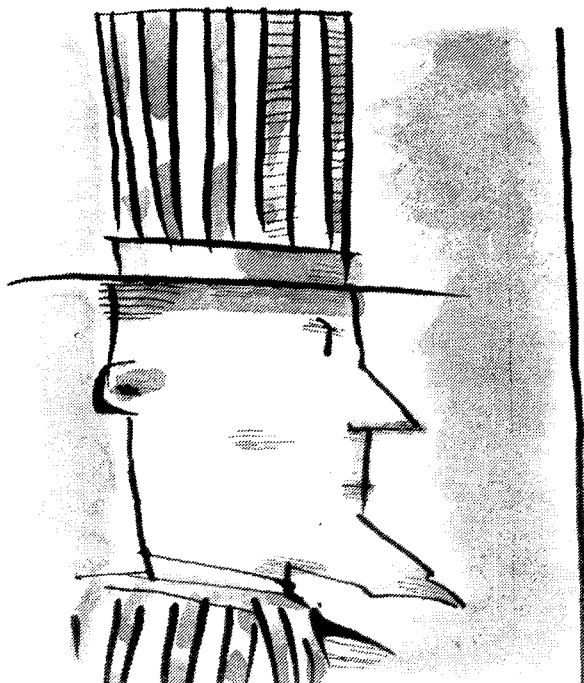
Few men have been better placed to understand international relations and influence foreign policy. When he was defeated for re-election in 1974 he had chaired the Senate Foreign Relations Committee longer than any other senator in history. His political education had begun as a Rhodes scholar from the University of Arkansas in 1925. It changed his life. "The intellectual sophistication of these young Englishmen astonished me," he writes. "I was embarrassed by my own inadequacy."

A rapid rise: So he began to read, concentrating on history. Later, back in Arkansas, he taught constitutional law, and at 34 became the university's president, the youngest in the nation. Dismissed for political reasons by a newly elected governor, Fulbright was elected to Congress in 1942, and to the Senate two years later.

From the beginning of his political career, foreign affairs were his obsession. While still a freshman congressman he authored the resolution that cleared the way for U.S. participation in the U.N., and this remarkable achievement, in a climate still dominated by isolationists, gave him national prominence as a foreign-policy trailblazer.

But there was a price to pay for the platform he used so effectively: surrender on civil-rights issues to the pervasive racism of his state. "If you oppose your constituents

© 1989 Peter Hannan



Studying history on a Fulbright

too directly on an issue too close to their hearts, you are not going to get elected," he writes. "In those days in Arkansas my constituents were not about to be persuaded on civil rights."

So Fulbright supported the poll tax, signed the infamous Southern Manifesto calling for legal resistance to the Supreme Court's integration ruling, and refused to criticize Gov. Orval Faubus when

POLITICS

he tried to block the integration of Central High School in Little Rock. "I avoided taking a stand. I could have committed political suicide very easily," he confesses. "I don't think that the 'gradualist' school that I belonged to, looking back now, will receive the approval of history."

The Suez slip: Having lost the support of blacks, Fulbright then incurred the hatred of Zionist Jews for backing U.S. financing of the Aswan Dam and opposing an amendment to the aid bill that would have required Egypt to open to Suez Canal to Israeli shipping. "I just didn't think it was proper to put that provision in an aid bill," is his lame explanation.

It was a serious mistake and a curious inconsistency, for Egypt was in clear violation of international law, and respect for the international legal system was at the foundation of Fulbright's philosophy of international relations.

When he was invited to lecture at Tel Aviv University in 1959, he was picketed by students, and hecklers forced him to abandon the podium. Today, despite his concern for the survival of Israel and his support of sensible peace proposals, Fulbright is still anathema

to Zionists. He calls for Israeli negotiations with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leading to a Palestinian state, special status for Jerusalem, and "an explicit, binding treaty guarantee of Israel" from the U.S.

Fulbright has no illusions about Congress supporting such a solution. The only hope, he says, is to reach an understanding with the Soviet Union, which would, he believes, undermine the power of the Israeli lobby in Washington. That is why the Zionists oppose detente. Congress believes it must appease the Zionists just as Fulbright had to placate the racists of Arkansas. Fear of political suicide is not confined to the Ozarks.

But William Fulbright is not going to be remembered for his stand on civil rights or the Middle East. His greatness as a senator will be assured by what he did about Vietnam and education.

Adult education: Fulbright approached Vietnam with what he now admits was ignorance and naivete. "It never occurred to me that presidents and their secretaries of state and defense would deceive a Senate committee." And so he voted for the Gulf of Tonkin resolution with which President Johnson expanded the war. But then Fulbright began to educate himself, especially with the books of Jean Lacouture and Bernard Fall.

In April 1965 he sent Johnson a memo saying that "it was compatible with our national interests for Vietnam to be unified under the rule of Ho Chi Minh." It was a bold suggestion given the prevailing anti-communist paranoia. Supporting Ho's nationalism would restrain Chinese expansionism in Southeast Asia, he argued. But while he privately criticized U.S. policy, Fulbright avoided

public controversy.

His break with Johnson came when the president sent the Marines into the Dominican Republic in 1965. He thought this kind of interventionism was a serious mistake, and he said so in a speech in the Senate. Johnson responded with his renowned pettiness. He struck Fulbright's name from the White House guest list and took away the jet Fulbright had used for his foreign travels. They never spoke again except at formal state occasions.

After the break, Fulbright spoke out more frequently. Believing that U.S. China policy was responsible for the war in Vietnam, he began hearings on China in 1966. He concluded that it had been a fateful mistake for the U.S. not to have recognized China in 1949, just as today he believes we should restore diplomatic relations with Vietnam. We have learned "apparently little or nothing" from the Vietnam War and under Reagan repeated our Vietnam mistakes in Nicaragua.

An anti-war mover: The China hearings were severely criticized by the hawks in the press and the Senate for aiding the war protes-

"I don't think that the 'gradualist' school I belonged to, looking back now, will receive the approval of history."

ters. They said that more than any other politician, Fulbright was legitimizing the anti-war movement. They were right. Many times, those of us who spoke out against the war supported our arguments with quotes from these hearings and from Fulbright's speeches. As long as the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee agreed with us, we were not com-

pletely beyond the pale.

"The protest that we legitimized was peaceful and lawful," he says. "My only regret is that I was not more effective. I thought I was going quite far at the time." And he was right. Only Senators Wayne Morse (D-OR) and Ernest Gruening (D-AK) went further. They cast the only two votes against the Gulf of Tonkin resolution.

But Fulbright's greatest and most lasting impact on public education has been the international scholarship program that bears his name. Hundreds of scholars and teachers have been exchanged between the U.S. and foreign countries as a result of this legislation. He conceived it and pushed it through Congress.

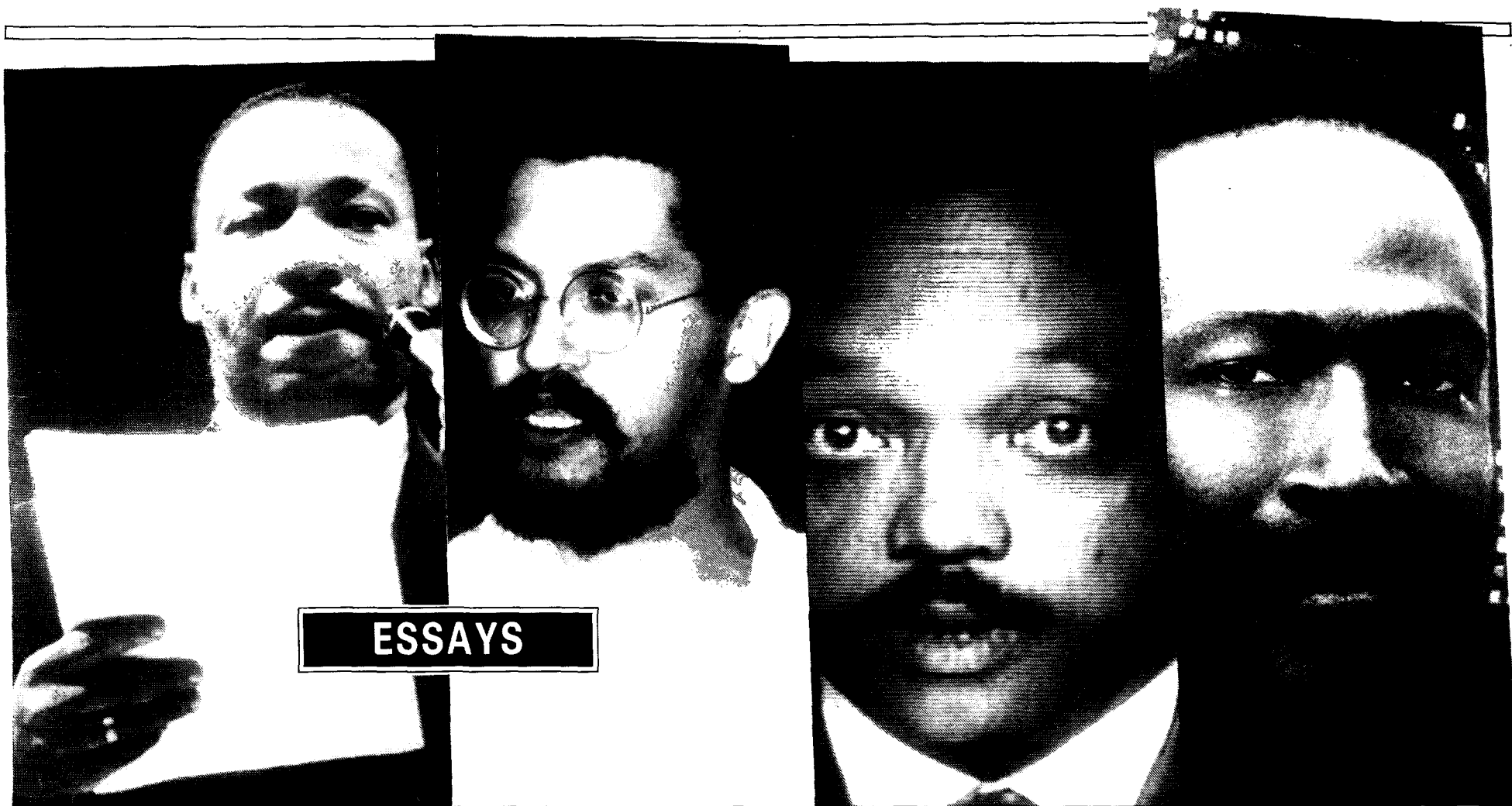
There is no way to measure the impact that this has had on improving international relations. How does one assess the fact that Alexander Yakovlev, now in the Soviet Politburo, was a Fulbright scholar at Columbia in 1958? How does one evaluate the effect on what is being taught in hundreds of classrooms by teachers who have lived, studied and taught in foreign schools and universities under Fulbright scholarships? Certainly it has been profound.

This is an easy-reading book, written as if prepared from the transcript of an oral history. Perhaps as a consequence it contains contradictions that a different style might have avoided. For example, on page 41 he says that "the superpowers alone have the power—and with it the responsibility—to maintain a semblance of order in our turbulent world." But on page 169 he criticizes Lyndon Johnson by saying that the "view that the world can be easily shaped and dominated by the great powers is a source of endless folly."

Fulbright's philosophy of international relations was a product of his youthful study at Oxford and was greatly influenced by his tutor, R.B. McCallum, an admirer of President Woodrow Wilson, also a great politician and teacher. "I am sure all this influenced my later ideas on the Fulbright exchange program and the kind of significance it could have on the attitudes of individuals interacting with different cultures," Fulbright writes.

Undoubtedly it did. From Woodrow Wilson at Princeton to McCallum at Oxford, to Fulbright at Arkansas and to the U.S. Senate and the entire world, the torch of enlightenment was passed. In the end, it is the scholar-teacher in these men, not the politician, that has shaped history. Teachers now in their classrooms may take heart from such examples. Their own potential may be greater than they think.

Marshall Windmiller is professor of international relations at San Francisco State University.



ESSAYS

Divining the truth and unearthing inspiration: Cornel West sings the scholarly body eclectic. Above, Martin Luther King, Manning Marable, Jesse Jackson, Marvin Gaye.

Prophetic Fragments

By Cornel West
Wm. B. Eerdmans
294 pp., \$17.95

By William E. Cain

PROPHETIC FRAGMENTS COLLECTS Cornel West's essays, reviews and occasional writings, mostly from the early to mid-'80s, on politics, religion and culture. Like his previous book, *Prophesy Deliverance! An Afro-American Revolutionary Christianity* (1982), *Prophetic Fragments* is the work of a formidably learned, passionate intellectual whose commitment to scholarship is enhanced by a deep sensitivity to exploited and marginalized people.

This collection shows West's skill in probing the subtle shortcomings of Marxist theory and in identifying concrete difficulties that plague the pursuit of a truly "progressive" Christianity. But while he attends to the left's conceptual and practical problems and sees clearly the daunting obstacles to social change in America, he remains fervently hopeful about possibilities for peace and justice.

From hermeneutics to rap: West can be a tough-minded polemicist, as when he responds severely to black neoconservatives and inveighs against the "existential emptiness" that, in his view, pervades American religious life. Yet he also takes an appreciative—but never uncritical—interest in figures and topics in both academic and popular spheres ranging from Alasdair MacIntyre and Leszek Kolakowski to Motown and Marvin Gaye, from biblical hermeneutics to rap music. West constantly seeks new sources of insight and demonstrates a marvelously capacious sense of how an engaged intellectual should behave.

Telling shards in the West tradition

Prophetic Fragments also contains adept critical portraits of Martin Luther King, Michael Harrington and Reinhold Niebuhr, and first-rate analytical overviews of religion and the left, critical theory and Christianity, and socialist theory and racism. The collection's book reviews are sometimes too brief, but they are generally shrewd and independent-minded, particularly those that treat Manning Marable, Paul Holmer and Harvey Cox.

One shortcoming of *Prophetic Fragments* is that West didn't provide a detailed, comprehensive introduction for it that might have updated or expanded upon earlier positions. When he deals with "Black-Jewish relations" in a 1984 essay, for example, he concludes with a call for "rational dialogue." No one would object to this, which is exactly the problem. From West, one expects more firmness and precision—and a greater willingness to take a stand on the controversial issues that such an urgent dialogue must confront. Does West judge that such a dialogue has occurred? If so, has it led blacks and Jews to bridge their differences, or has it intensified feelings of suspi-

Cornel West constantly seeks new sources of insight and demonstrates a marvelously capacious intellect.

cion?

A 1986 piece on "Left Strategies Today" is similarly unsatisfying. In it West speaks forthrightly of the Jackson campaign's progressive potential, and he vigorously maps the "space" for social-democratic discourse and action that the Rainbow Coalition has done so much to create. But West does not zero in on the highly problematic linkage that existed then—and exists now—between Jackson as presidential candidate and the broad left and liberal battalions that have rallied behind him.

Triumph and tragedy: In Jackson we arguably have a political leader who is both the triumph and tragedy of the contemporary progressive movement. With extraordinary courage and conviction, he has brought together blacks, poor people, women, white blue-collar workers and farmers. But Jackson has seemed intent upon organizing this movement only when elections roll around: he has failed to build serious, sustained political structures that would be important for, but finally independent of, his runs for the White House. Maybe it is time for members of the Rainbow Coalition to contest Jackson on this point and query him on his slow but steady drift toward the political center since his 1984 campaign. Jackson was less "left" in 1988 than he was in 1984, and all signs—including his recent self-serving meeting with George Bush—indicate that he will be even less left in 1992.

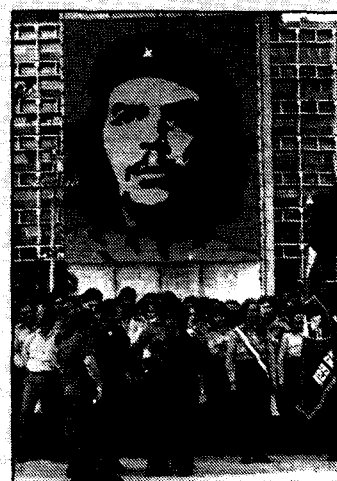
West is a provocative thinker and keen observer. But, as his weak commentary on Jackson testifies, he sometimes suffers from an overly

congenial militancy. His voice is strong and stirring, and he backs up his arguments with an imposing array of texts in critical theory, economics, religion, politics and philosophy. At his best, he enlightens and energizes readers with an authority that only a handful of intellectuals today wield. But his writing seems

limited by an unwillingness to press home positions that might disturb or risk dividing his audience—positions that the left badly needs to hear in order to shake up its complacent attitudes and strategies. ■

William E. Cain is an associate professor of English and director of American studies at Wellesley College.

NOTEBOOK



The Cuba Reader: The Making of a Revolutionary Society
Edited by Philip Brenner, William M. LeoGrande, Donna Rich and Dan Spiegel
Grove Press, 564 pp., \$14.95

This is the most up-to-date, balanced, comprehensive survey of Cuba available. The editors have expertly selected 56 readings on 17 different topics, roaming through Cuba's history, both pre- and postrevolution, its political and economic system, including the zigzags of the past few years, its foreign policy and its daily life and culture.

The tone throughout is sym-

pathetic without being sycophantic; readings include several recent investigations into human rights that are straightforwardly critical without descending into Reagan administration exaggeration. (Although the editors should probably have included readings discussing Armando Valladares, the long-term prisoner whose recent memoir, *Against All Hope*, raised questions among some people about his veracity.)

One of the best offerings, by Saul Landau, the veteran filmmaker and journalist, argues persuasively that the wrong questions are asked about Cuba. Many scholars have dug into whether Fidel Castro was secretly "Communist" and "pro-Soviet" before he won power. But Landau asserts that a more relevant question is whether any leader who wanted genuine economic independence for Cuba in 1959 could have done without Soviet aid, and the inevitably accompanying influence. It is an open question, and this big collection is a good place to begin answering it, and many others. —James North

Organized labor struggles to focus its clouded media vision

By Fred Glass

ON MARCH 13 IN PORTLAND, ORE., independent video producers, labor educators and union communications staffers met to discuss something that, until recently, could have been considered an oxymoron: labor television.

The meeting was organized by Fred Carroll, a UFCW staffer who volunteers time on the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor Media Committee and its cable TV show, *Lifestyles of All the Rest of Us*. His is one of several dozen labor TV shows nationwide—mostly on public access cable channels. Participants at the long meeting argued amiably about the limits of public access cable, the AFL-CIO's "Union Yes" television campaign and possible future ventures. The loose association of two dozen or so producers formed a steering committee and tentatively decided to call itself the Labor Media Network.

Why is this remarkable? For about two decades—from the early '60s to the beginning of the '80s—the labor movement often ducked the media limelight, acting as if the only possible relationship it might have with the general public through the mass media, especially TV, was a hostile one. There were good reasons for such a belief, even if they weren't the whole story.

Media turn-offs: The corporate-owned media has never been partial to promoting the causes of working people or their unions. In recognition of such facts of life, unions have always produced their own newspapers; before 1960 they maintained a presence in the electronic media, too.

From the early '60s on, however, after a brief burst of public relations work following the McClellan Committee congressional hearings, which equated "unions" and "corrupt" in splashy headlines, most unions turned from media work, especially TV. This decision coincided with the long decline of pro-union, urban working-class neighborhoods. As freeways covered the ground between city and suburb, as the factories moved out and neighborhoods broke up, the ethos of the labor movement—always a partial identity at best, anyway—gave way to other preoccupations for working people. Without something resembling a labor culture—and in light of the obvious decay of organized labor's social power—anti-union ideologies flourished, with only a vacuum where labor's voice should have been.

Following the death of George
20 IN THESE TIMES APRIL 19-25, 1989

Meany in 1980, the leadership of the AFL-CIO and a dozen or so of its larger unions began to wake from their public relations nightmare. Several built their own video production facilities, while some unions turned to professional consultants for video production and other promotional expertise.

TELEVISION

Labor's central media agency is the Labor Institute of Public Affairs (LIPA). Established by the AFL-CIO in 1982 under the directorship of former PBS producer Larry Kirkman, LIPA has designed a wide range of media productions to support the daily work and political agenda of labor, including commercials, half-hour commercial programming, PBS specials and shows for use in high schools.

In 1988 LIPA undertook its most expensive exercise in the PR wars, the "Union Yes" campaign. The price tag of more than \$13 million bought an ad campaign that hit national network commercial broadcasts in two salvos, one in May and the other in September 1988, during the Olympics. Thirteen large metropolitan markets were also targeted for local versions of the campaign; local unions and labor councils were encouraged to take pre-made cassettes of the spots and add their own names and localized messages.

The spots featured film and televi-

sion stars (Jack Lemmon, Howard Hesseman, Tyne Daly) as well as rank-and-file union members. Slickly produced, they present unions in terms no one could argue with—fairness, motherhood, a democratic voice.

Just how effective the message has been is open to debate. The AFL-CIO claims that in followup surveys to the May spots conducted by the Gallup organization, positive union feelings jumped 5 to 11 percent in various categories.

Personal data: In contrast, barely a month after the spots were aired, I asked the students in my community college labor studies class how many of them had seen the spots. Of these 15 labor activists, including officers, staffers and rank-and-filers from nine different unions, two tentatively raised their hands. After showing a tape that included several of the spots, two more people remembered having seen them. Said one woman, president of a chapter of a large local, "Yeah, now that I see it again, I recall it from during the World Series [sic]. But I didn't pay any attention to it. I thought it was a commercial for Union 76 gasoline."

But Kirkman countered that "for every anecdote like that I could tell you two positive ones. These things take time. We're still in the beginning stages of the campaign." Kirkman said that analysis of the poll data following the Olympics spots has yet

to be completed; but while less money was spent on the later round than in the previous spring, awareness and recall were higher, indicating that it built upon the impact of the earlier spots.

Beyond the question of the campaign's successes or failures on its own terms, however, is a broader one: is this the most appropriate way for unions to spend their members' money? A relatively meager sum by corporate PR standards, \$13 million spent over two years for organized labor is unprecedented. The rationale for this spending level depends on particular assumptions regarding how the labor movement might revive from its decades-long swoon. Prominent among these assumptions is a persistent hope that the central cause of labor's decline is its bad public image: correct that problem and all will be, if not well, at least better.

The difficulty with this notion, of course, is that it leaves unaddressed other possible reasons for labor's poor fortunes. What about the holes in labor's agenda, such as many unions' long vacation from serious organizing? And what of concessions bargaining, which disillusioned thousands of members about labor's willingness and ability to fight corporate attacks? Or the continuing absence of women and minorities from the upper echelons of the AFL-CIO and many of its affiliates, leaving these constituencies without top labor leaders with whom to identify? If all the "Union Yes" campaign did was to paper over these deficiencies with feel-good image manipulation, it would obviously be inadequate to meet the challenge facing labor.

"Some people trivialize 'Union Yes' as an 'image campaign,'" said Kirkman. "But what we found through Harris polls [in 1985] was that there isn't so much hard opposition to unions in the general public. Rather, unions are seen as irrelevant in the contemporary world. So our task was to create a campaign of values related to unions, and the first step was to get people to rethink their notions about what unions are for."

Another blitz: The "Union Yes" campaign will be continued during the coming year, with Edward James Olmos spots being created for a spring national bilingual TV and radio campaign. This release is timed to coincide with ratings sweeps and with National Worker Memorial Day, April 28, to commemorate the founding of the U.S. Occupational Safety and Health Administration. LIPA foresees increased use of the campaign by local labor organizations as they learn more about its possibilities.

This process has already begun. In 1988 "Union Yes" tied in with over 100 local uses of the spots, both on radio and TV, adding more than \$1 million to LIPA's outlay. For example, Chris Bedford of the Washing-

ton, D.C.-based Organizing Media helped tailor a local "Union Yes" spot for the UA Plumbers and Steamfitters Local 393 in San Jose, Calif.

Bedford said that he and the local tried to add another theme to the spot: "not simply justice on the job, but union quality of work on the job, too." He balanced his praise of the "Union Yes" campaign with caution. "There's an unconscious level at which workers in this country have internalized anti-union messages. For that reason, the campaign is a good idea, and running it during the Olympics was brilliant. But the challenge facing labor is much larger than any image question."

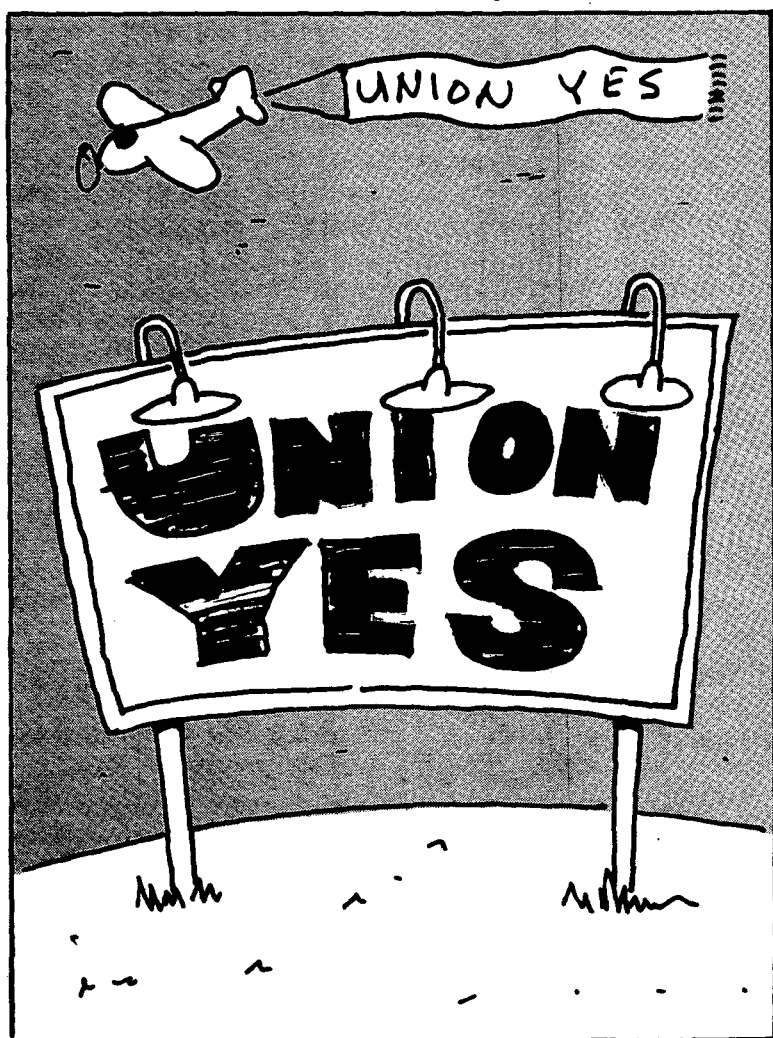
Weekly work news: Independent video producer Peter White envisions a consortium of union-sponsored producers and independents co-producing a weekly, hour-long labor news journal with PBS that would balance the network's business-oriented public affairs coverage with labor's perspective. White insists, "We can give the public the story on the labor movement with complexity and differences of opinion." Alexander Cockburn has expressed interest in hosting the show. White is talking with a number of PBS affiliates and is cautiously optimistic.

There remain a couple of small sticking points: e.g., why should PBS suddenly be responsive to ideas that could threaten its cosy relationship with corporate underwriters? White believes that Congress' recent move in creating an Independent Programming Service, with initial funding of \$6 million plus another \$2 million for promotion, has forced PBS to pay more attention to the needs of independent producers and underrepresented constituencies such as labor. He feels the consortium approach will work better than a direct identification with the AFL-CIO, such as LIPA's, because it brings aboard the independent producers that the Independent Programming Service is set up to fund.

Kirkman, although supportive of the concept, warned that much will depend on definitions by PBS: will video producers with a track record of making labor shows be considered independents? Keiser is more blunt about the possibilities for such a show on PBS in the near future: "It's a great idea, but it doesn't have a snowball's chance in hell."

Whether *Labor News Journal* gets past the pie-in-the-sky stage, there's a good chance that increasing numbers of people will be exposed to a more balanced picture of labor on TV sometime in the near future. Viewing habits are changing under the impact of cable, satellite and VCRs, and labor activists seemed determined to take advantage of the new situation.

Fred Glass is communications coordinator for the California Federation of Teachers. His most recent video is *AFT 1493: The Movie*.



By Nan Levinson

WHEN THE MASSACHUSETTS Council on the Arts and Humanities came under fire in February as one of two state agencies the Massachusetts House Ways and Means Committee slated for extinction in the coming fiscal year, the culture lobby sprang into action, doing what it has learned to do well in 25 years of public funding for the arts. It called its opponents philistines, mounted phone and letter campaigns, organized a big demonstration, thought up clever ways to dramatize its plight (wearing Band-Aids, blacking out 30 seconds of performances), gave articulate and impassioned interviews and had friends in high places call their friends in high places.

Things are pretty dicey in Massachusetts these days since the Miracle isn't producing the revenue projected. And while estimates of the deficit's size vary from \$131 million to \$200 million, all agree that it's too big. By law, Massachusetts must balance its budget and, with new taxes more unpopular than ever, something had to go; that something was the Massachusetts Council, slated for zero funding.

Duking it out: The immediate reasons for such a drastic step are primarily political. Gov. Michael Dukakis has looked kindly on the council since he was a freshman state representative, introducing its creating legislation in 1966. During his tenure as governor he helped increase its budget to the nation's third-largest (New York and New Jersey are first and second). But Dukakis returned from his presidential drubbing to announce—more or less simultaneously—that he was a lame duck governor and that the state was in serious debt, so he wasn't in a position to champion anything. Another reliable council supporter, Senate President William Bulger, was also vulnerable during the budget debate, because he was being investigated for alleged influence peddling, though in the end no charges were brought.

In addition, when the House "earmarked" nearly \$500,000 of arts funds last year for pet projects and bypassed the council's panel review system, the council complained loudly, annoying some legislators.

So when, for the first time in a decade, the state faced a shortage of money, the council was fair game, and those taking aim went about it in the usual way. Point man was Democrat Richard Voke, Ways and Means chairman and representative from Chelsea, one of Boston's poorest communities and home to few arts organizations. Voke was fond of saying that the state couldn't afford to support the Boston Symphony (which actually gets little of its funding from the council; small organizations least able to withstand cuts will be hardest hit). That got everyone's attention and conveniently set the stage to pit the arts against other "expendable" parts of society such

as the homeless, the drug-dependent and prisoners.

Lotto luck: Eventually Voke compromised, and when the budget left the House for the Senate on March 15, the council appropriation had been restored to \$9.5 million, a little less than half of the \$19.4 million it

FUNDING

received this year. The money is to come from a state lottery. Arts advocates are hopeful that the traditionally supportive Senate will restore more funding, but final numbers aren't expected until late May.

Meanwhile, art and artists (colorful, quotable, and frequent candidates for the man-bites-dog category) make good copy, and newspapers were full of editorials, features, letters and rebuttals. In the *Boston Globe*, Jeff McLaughlin pronounced the Massachusetts Council "the symbolic battleground" for the budget debate and asked, "Is Massachusetts a harbinger?" A report in the *New York Times* on appropriation hearings for the National Endowment for the Arts called the Massachusetts cut "the Boston massacre, part II."

Bloody though this round may be, the council is hardly the first state agency to fall prey to political wrangling. In 1983 the Illinois Arts Council was caught in a battle between the governor and the legislature; more recently the agencies in Louisiana and Alaska were proposed for abolition, and rumors of impending deep cuts to the New Jersey Arts Council are currently making the rounds. According to State Programs, the office of the National Endowment for the Arts that distributes federal money to state agencies, there is nearly always a move somewhere at this time of the year to

abolish an arts council, but it hasn't happened yet—which is slim comfort at best.

The Massachusetts Council is 23 years old, with a reputation for being effective, innovative and one of the nation's best state arts agencies, so those interested in public funding for the arts should ask why it's such a ready target. There are the easy answers—the arts are visible; the arts are suspect; intellect and creativity have never been able to compete with power and money in America.

Uneasy answers: But it is too easy to lay all the blame at the feet of the unenlightened. For whatever reason (not trusting the arts to speak eloquently enough in their own terms, the seduction of power or acceptance), those who have advocated for the arts in the public arena this past decade have been selling them as something they are not. And it may be that the jig is up.

In response to attacks on the council, the New England Foundation for the Arts (NEFA), a consortium of six state arts agencies, released its findings on the economic impact of "the non-profit arts industry" in Massachusetts in 1988. Though it's hard to imagine whose mind is changed by this kind of study, the numbers are impressive: \$402 million spent directly by cultural organizations, \$32 million paid in taxes, 19,600 million people employed, 20 million people in attendance. "Massachusetts' non-profit arts sector is a growth industry," a summary brochure asserts.

"States and countries whose economies are strong remain strong because they invest in their revenue-generating sectors," says NEFA Executive Director Holly Sidford in prepared remarks. The brochure also mentions that the arts "enrich lives" and "improve the state's qual-

ity of life," but only after it talks money. In its quest for credibility (and bankability), the "arts industry" seems to have taken Calvin Coolidge's aphorism to heart, declaring that the chief business of art is business.

But this stance doesn't hold up to scrutiny. While cultural institutions may generate employment, tax dollars and "associated spending," many enterprises do that as well or better, since the arts, by their very nature, are "inefficient" and labor-intensive. Their research and development costs are high, as is their failure rate, their project proposals sound ludicrous and wasteful when read aloud, and it's often the small, messy and imprudent groups, rather than the large, stable and well-managed ones that do the most interesting work.

And what about the product? If the marketplace is arbiter, how can most of what is publicly funded be justified, either in terms of popularity or quality? The most commercially viable part of the culture industry isn't eligible for subsidy because it isn't non-profit, and though

Arts groups may now face the Massachusetts Manacle.

funders talk a lot about excellence, that's seldom what drives the arts market. Besides, much art in any age or place is mediocre, and since the funding system has enshrined experts who are likely to reinforce what they're most comfortable with, grants tend toward a safe middle.

Then there's the argument made for a share of the tax dollars: that

the arts belong to all people. That may be true—there is such a thing as culture-as-birthright, but it's not the same as culture-by-grant-application, and, in fact, they may be mutually exclusive. In a 1967 survey the council found that "what is most needed is overcoming the ethnic and sociological barriers which create the feeling that the arts are for the elite."

Art of sociology: But it's not just ethnicity and sociology; public dollars go disproportionately to large, established, conventional institutions—the ones with buildings that house what we commonly think of as "the arts"—and most funded activity is either preservation (of objects, traditions and the places that keep them) or cultural transmission (performance, exhibition, scholarship, training and the passing on of values and tastes). The arts work that's left over—creation, innovation and animation—is the poor stepchild.

According to the NEFA study, 87 percent of government funding (federal, state and local) that went to Massachusetts groups in 1988 went to visual arts, humanities and multidisciplinary organizations (primarily museums, libraries and presenters of performances), while these funds made up only 21 percent of their budgets. In contrast, community arts groups derived 40.5 percent of their incomes from government grants, but the money they received came to 4 percent of that given out.

Funding for individual, living artists is precarious and unpopular, and so falls primarily to government and some private foundations. Corporations seldom fund individuals because they assume artists are less dependable than organizations, and fellowship competitions make more enemies than friends since most people lose.

Not that artists are necessarily hapless victims. To be a successful artist in the '80s is to be affiliated, to have a career, to be a ward of the state. It also entails competing with other, equally worthy petitioners when the cutting begins.

So if what's happening in Massachusetts merits attention, it's not for the obvious reasons, because in fact it's more or less business as usual. Legislators score points as populists, then pose as solons when they restore funding. A fragmented arts community unites against the threat to policies and systems that have been around long enough for most everyone to believe that there is no other way to do things. So much time, energy and talent is spent in rearguard actions that the few who still have the stomach for raising real questions are seen as undermining the cause. Meanwhile, more adventuresome artists and less affluent audiences will lose money they need, and everyone else will have lost an opportunity for change. ■

Nan Levinson, a writer living in the Boston area, was assistant director of State Programs for the National Endowment for the Arts in 1981-82.

Palestinians

Continued from page 13
beat up Nablus residents.

Al-Ittihad Hospital, the city's major health facility, normally treats 40-60 beating victims weekly. "Every week we also treat six or seven cases in which someone has been beaten or kicked in the testicles," reports hospital physician Ibrahim Mattad. "I don't know how they can do these things."

The Israeli army tolerates such behavior. Of 600 military conduct investigations opened by the army during the *intifada*, only 27 have led to courts martial, with just seven convictions, according to figures circulated by left-wing Knesset member Dedi Zucker.

More than 4,000 local residents have been treated for *intifada*-related injuries by the two Nablus hospitals. "It's a very difficult burden on our facilities," says al-Ittihad administrator Yussef Dabbur. "The Israeli authorities don't help. Right now they're blocking transfer of \$2 million of our money from Jordan, and we haven't paid any salaries for almost two months."

The Nablus economy: Before the *intifada*, Nablus' official unemployment rate stood at 17 percent. Today an estimated 26,500 workers, or about 40 percent of the registered workforce, are jobless.

Thousands of Nablus workers left jobs in Israel in response to boycott calls from the underground United National Leadership, according to local sources. But very few replacement jobs were available to them in Palestinian-owned workplaces.

Even if a job is available, it doesn't help much to work: 40 percent of salaried workers are below the poverty line, a situation aggravated by the recent precipitous fall of the

Jordanian dinar.

Some 3,000 Nablus workers have been arrested or detained; an estimated two-thirds have permanently lost their Israeli jobs. The local economy is further drained by approximately 2,000 workers who have been seriously injured in *intifada* clashes and laid up for long periods.

"From the beginning, Israeli policy has been to build links to its economy," Shaher Sa'ed, secretary-general of the General Federation of West Bank Trade Unions, told *In These Times*. "Israel sought to make us depend on them 100 percent and destroy the Palestinian economy's infrastructure." Israel transferred its economic ills to the Occupied Territories, he argues. "In 1984, when the Israeli economy was in crisis with hyperinflation, Palestinians were affected far worse."

The trade unions, traditionally strong in working-class Nablus, have been hit hard during the *intifada*. Israeli authorities charge that the federation is a covert PLO organ. "As head of the labor group, I reflect the politics of Palestinian workers, and they embrace the PLO as their national leadership," Sa'ed says. He insists, however, that the federation is autonomous and controlled only by its internal elections.

The federation's offices were shut down by army order for two years in August 1988. Scores of union officials were arrested and jailed without trial. "Seven of the federation's 13 executive committee members were put under administrative detention," relates unionist Mussaddaq al-Masri. "The only place the union leadership could have held a legal meeting was in Ketziot prison," he says.

To the sea: Ali al-Khalili tells the story of a volume of poems, entitled *Nablus Goes to the Sea*, he published several years ago. As

he returned from his book's Beirut inaugural via Amman, he was detained by Jordanian police. Why was landlocked Nablus going to the sea, they asked? That was the opposite direction from King Hussein's throne. When al-Khalili later crossed the bridge into Israel, the military government arrested and questioned him. Did he mean to say that Nablus was going to march to the sea over the bodies of the Jews?

"What I meant was that the future of Nablus lies in the Mediterranean civilization, that the city can see a new enlightenment," says al-Khalili. "But if Nablus can't go toward the sea or away from it, where's it supposed to go?"

Israeli government plans call for Nablus

to stay put, literally and figuratively. Four Jewish settlement blocks ring the city and guard its approaches. Government Minister Ariel Sharon has joined Gush Emunim settlers in demanding a special construction drive in the Nablus-area highlands to secure Israeli control of the region. One attempt to establish a Jewish settlement in Nablus itself failed: even among Greater Israel devotees, there weren't enough that fanatical.

Nablus is a city where civil revolt breaks out hourly in smaller or larger incidents. When quiet prevails, the *intifada* smolders and becomes incorporated into the social organization of daily life.

Joe Lockard is *In These Times*' correspondent in Israel.

C A L E N D A R

Use the Calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of ITT Calendar.

NEW YORK April 17-23

THE NEW YORK MARXIST SCHOOL
MONDAY, APRIL 17—Working-Class Responses to Economic Austerity in Latin America, Peter Ranis, Mathew Edel, 6 p.m.
FRIDAY, APRIL 21—Black Culture, Greg Tate, 7:30 p.m.
SUNDAY, APRIL 23—Red Balloon Poetry Conspiracy, \$3, 3-5 p.m.

Events take place at the Brecht Forum, 79 Leonard St. (five blocks below Canal, between Church and Broadway). Unless otherwise listed, admission is \$5. For information call (212) 941-0332.

PITTSFIELD, MA April 22

"Northeast Economic Diversification: Restructuring for Tomorrow." The conference will explore possibilities for economic diversification and conversion and building of political constituencies to promote broad civic participation in our economic future. Featured speakers: Pete di Cicco, IUE; John Kenneth Galbraith; Marion Anderson; Seymour Melman; John B. Kidd; Frank Barbaro; Pamela Haines. Conference takes place at Berkshire Community College, 1350 West St. Registration fee \$15; \$7.50 for seniors, students and low-income. For information, child care and lodging, phone (413) 499-4660, or conference director Michael Cevasco (413) 586-8892.

CHICAGO April 24-27

"Voices of Hope and Anger Tour," a women's speaking tour on foreign U.S. military bases, will stop in Chicago. Speakers from the Philippines, West Germany, Poland and Okinawa describe the impacts of the bases on the surrounding communities. Maria Socorro Diokno and Elio Klug are featured. Sponsored by American Friends Service Committee's national disarmament program. For information call Chicago-area AFSC at (312) 427-2533.

May 6

The 31st Annual Thomas-Debs Dinner honors William Winpisinger, President of IAM, Vice-Chair of DSA; and Milt and Sue Cohen, longtime Chicago activists; with Dr. Quentin Young as featured speaker. At the Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams: cocktails 6 p.m., dinner 7 p.m. Tickets: \$35 each or \$60 as patrons. Make checks payable to Thomas-Debs Dinner Committee. Be sure your organization is represented in our program book! Contact Chicago DSA, 1608 N. Milwaukee, Room 403, Chicago, IL 60647, (312) 384-0327 for details.

WORLDWIDE April 22

A worldwide citizen mobilization for banning the use of CFCs (chlorofluorocarbons), which destroy the Earth's protective ozone layer and add to the greenhouse effect, is staging rallies in four major cities across the U.S.—New York; Wichita, Kan.; Houston; and San Jose, Calif. Events are also scheduled to take place in Copenhagen, Den.; New Delhi, Ind.; Budapest, Hung.; Stockholm, Swed.; Cracow, Pol.; Rome, It.; and West Germany. Rallies and non-violent protests will be held at CFC producers and/or users in all four locations listed. For times, places and further information contact: Kirk Smith, NY PIRG, New York, (212) 349-6460; Kansas' Save the

Earth Campaign, (913) 292-4595; Texans United, (713) 529-8038; and Diane Fort, Citizens for a Better Environment, (415) 788-0670. National office, Greenhouse Crisis Foundation, Washington, DC, (202) 466-2823.

MINNEAPOLIS May 4-7

The Alliance for Cultural Democracy is sponsoring "Remapping Our Homeland," An Alliance for Cultural Democracy National Gathering at Powderhorn Park in Minneapolis. Preparations in anticipation of the celebration and misrepresentations in all kinds of situations surrounding the quincennial of the alleged discovery of "America." A gathering by and for cultural workers, activist artists, teachers, organizers and you. Featuring performances, ceremony, workshops and networking on a wide range of issues including: neighborhood arts, labor theater, cross-cultural alliances, body image and culture, rural arts organizing, AIDS and culture, undoing racism, new song movement, taking it to the schools, film and video screenings, and re-mapping history. Synchronized with St. Paul's Cinco de Mayo Festival. For information and registration call Juanita days (612) 292-32490 or evenings (612) 724-5394. Gathering Organizing Committee, P.O. Box 7442, Minneapolis, MN 55407.

NEW YORK May 4

"Eastern Europe's Independent Peace and Human Rights Movements: Spotlight on Poland." Speakers: Jack Czaputowicz, a founder of Freedom and Peace, Poland's independent peace and ecology movement. He is an editor of *Future Times* magazine and a member of Lech Walesa's Citizens' Committee; and Elzbieta Piwowarska, a student of sociology in Krakow, Poland, where she has participated in recent student demonstrations. She has been an active member of Freedom and Peace and currently works for *Future Times*. 8 p.m., Swayduck Auditorium, New School, 65 Fifth Ave. (near 14th St.). Free. Co-sponsors: Humanitas International, American Friends Service Committee/N.Y., Campaign for Peace and Democracy/East and West, Neither East Nor West, New School Committee on Liberal Studies, War Resisters International. (212) 598-0964 or (212) 724-1157.

ST. MARYS, GA May 5-6

"From Deterrence to Love: A Call to Action," at the Kings Bay Trident Submarine Base in St. Marys, Ga., sponsored by Pax Christi, USA. This two-day event will combine workshops, liturgy and non-violent civil disobedience in an action against U.S. first-strike capability. For information contact Pax Christi, USA, 348 E. Tenth St., Erie, PA 16503, (814) 453-4955.

LOVELAND, OH May 5-7

"On Eagle's Wings: A Spirituality of Wholeness," a workshop led by Kay Morrissey and Beth Jesaitis on the importance of loving and being loved on the way to becoming whole. For more information contact Grailville, 932 O'Bannonville Road, Loveland, Ohio 45140, (513) 683-2340.

SANTA BARBARA, CA June 30-July 4

"Toward a Postmodern Presidency: Vision for a Planet in Crisis," featuring Steve Allen, John Cobb, Richard Falk, David Griffin, Wes Jackson, Anestria King, Frances Moore Lappé, Amory & Hunter Lovins, Joanna Macy, Douglas Sloan, Jim Wallis, Roger Wilkins. Call (805) 965-6688 or 965-0366 for brochures.

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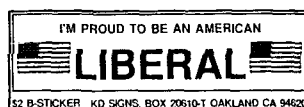
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LIFE IN HELL

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ON A HOT AUGUST WEEKEND last year in New York City's Tompkins Square Park, a patch of green where indigents and eccentrics summer, a riot broke out. The original issue was night noise and the ensuing insomnia. There was a police threat to empty the park for curfew violations. The cops showed up in force on a Saturday night, and all hell broke loose. On his way to videotape a nightclub performance, artist and hatmaker Clayton Patterson changed his mind and decided to shoot the melee instead.

Patterson taped scenes that, in the words of a *New York Times* account, "outraged many New Yorkers and forced disciplinary actions" against cops by the police commissioner. "Officers who wore no badges," said the *Times* story, "clubbed and kicked bystanders for no apparent reason and rushed in uncontrolled waves into crowds that had gathered to watch the confrontation."

What Patterson got from the authorities for immortalizing this event was a brief hiatus in jail for refusing to turn the video over to them. He balked, because he feared that the cassette would fall into that evidential coal hole at whose bottom lie all the proofs of the worst suspicions of our age, from John F. Kennedy's brain to the register tapes for Col. North's dainties.

But thanks to Patterson's cam work, some putatively nasty cops got haled up on charges, and the basis was laid for lawsuits and exposés that in future might encourage the police to behave in ways that will not leave the citizenry with the lingering notion that, given a choice of living under the regime of cops or crooks, the odds might be slightly better with the latter.

This February in the Los Angeles suburb of Cerritos, a bridal shower at the home of the Dole family, natives of Samoa, apparently attained a level of festivity that provoked the interest of the sheriff's department. In all, according to accounts in the *Los Angeles Times*, about 100 officers from three law enforcement agencies showed up for the event, bringing with them a helicopter whose noise and blinding searchlights reportedly added to the confusion.

The whole world is watching: The police said that they were pelted with rocks and beer bottles. Neighbors and party guests said the cops initiated the violence in which 34 persons were arrested and an undetermined number injured.

A cam-equipped neighbor decided to unobtrusively tape what he could of the scene. He got shots of an officer beating people on the ground who, it appeared, were already restrained. Dismissing the images on the tape, the sheriff said, "It would be unusual to use a baton if they were handcuffed."

Unusual or not, local newscasts gave their viewers a picture of the law in action somewhat different from the one the police would prefer to project.

Back before the information age got its chips together, libertarians, civil and otherwise, worried a lot about Big Brother. The fear was that the emerging computer and video technologies would permit the corporate state to maintain cradle-to-grave surveillance over its subject consumers. We would be monitored, like parts on an assembly line, with built-in mechanisms programmed to reject the misfits and refractories.

By Peter Karman



Wei Wei Ai, NYT Pictures

LITTLE BROTHER IS WATCHING TOO

**Consumer video technology helps
turns the tables on the
powers that be.**

This wave of apprehension faded perceptibly in 1984, when the West's pundits looked around to discover that we were not living in George Orwell's prophetic nightmare, but only in the same old messy world with a few more gizmos. Before that, it had become apparent that, owing to the treasonous nature of modern capitalism, the same corporations selling the tools of social control to Big Brother were happily adding to their profits by selling their antidotes to little brother.

The commonest example of this marketing Janus is the radar detector. Truckers, sales reps and others who spend too much time on the interstates know that whatever technical means the cops acquire to nail speeders will be almost instantly available in their obverse form—i.e., to detect the police detections.

Computer hacking is, of course, nerdish America's great riposte to the looming specter of a database state in which citizens are mere iron fillings dancing to electronic pulses transmitted through magnetic media. In fact, for every horror story about corporate or governmental computers snooping into our personal and political affairs, there is at least an equivalent tale or two about hackers invading Big Brother's mainframes for purposes of mischief, ideology, venality or some combination thereof.

Cheap obsessions: Hackers are able to take these forbidden bytes not simply because they spent their adolescent years stroking their escape keys instead of practicing social skills, but also because a vast and greedy communications industry, including purveyors of hardware, software, network systems and transmission circuits, enables them to cheaply and easily ply their obsession.

The socially beneficial result has been that Big Brother has had to spend time and effort protecting his own privacy that would otherwise have been available for violating ours.

The videocams with which Patterson and the Cerritos resident caught the police at their worst first began to bloom years ago in parking lots, lobbies, workplaces and, surreptitiously, in the ceilings of those blank motel rooms to which undercover cops bring the subjects of stings. Banks of monitors showing bare corridors and newscasts of time-signed scenes of politicians stuffing money into briefcases became commonplace of our visual landscape. We also knew, of course, that we were being watched on the job—but knew, too, that we would probably bore our surveillors to death before giving their tape machines anything to pop their heads about.

Commercially speaking, there were only so many hallways, washrooms and cops that could be mounted with videos. Real profit lay in putting a videocam to the eyeball of every tourist, nostalgist or artist—in short, just about everyone. Once that happened, the technological tables were yet again turned on Big Brother.

There's no doubt that the citizens of the free world are more intrusively scrutinized with every advance of the information revolution. Big Brother can instantaneously call the raw data of our lives to his screens. Like Santa, he can know whether we've been naughty or nice.

But, at least, it appears that the more Big Brother knows, the less he seems to understand. And, in fact, the more he may begin worrying that little brother is watching him. ■